

TRACTS
OF
THE ANGLICAN FATHERS

THE PRAYER BOOK.

THE AUTHORITY AND COMMISSION OF THE CHURCH.

VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN giving to the public the first complete volume of the “TRACTS OF THE ANGLICAN FATHERS,” the Editors take the opportunity of saying a few words as to the principles by which they have been guided in their selection. They are well aware that Antiquity contains error as well as truth ; and that many heresies have been maintained, and many dangerous positions asserted, by divines of the Anglican communion. The controversies which have of late agitated the Church Catholic in this land are of no new character ; and it would be easy for disputants of all varieties of opinion, within the pale of the establishment, to find ancestors in heterodoxy. Impressed with this truth, the present series was commenced ; and the first volume is now before the reader.

The appeal to Antiquity, now so confidently made by every controversialist, divides itself into two branches : first, the appeal to Catholic and Primitive Antiquity ; and, secondly, the appeal to the Reformers, and, as it were, the second Fathers of our Church. For while, as *Catholics*, we refer our creed to the forms of the Apostolic ages ; yet, as *Anglicans*, are we equally bound to ascertain the dicta of our National Church. Otherwise should we be blindly attaching ourselves to a body of whose prin-

ciples we know nothing, and declaring our adherence to a communion without ascertaining whether she were Apostolic or not.

The force and value of this twofold appeal appears now to be daily more and more appreciated ; and this we rejoice in believing a symptom of the approach of better days. At the same time, it must not be concealed, that it is possible to use this weapon both unwisely and unfairly. If the Scriptures themselves may be, and, unhappily, often are, wrested by the unlearned and unstable to their own destruction, surely the writings of men, however good and however wise, may be *made* instrumental to mischief.

Evil, then, may arise through the mismanagement of this appeal, by giving the opinions of *an individual* the stamp of authority. The Fathers of our Reformed Church are simply witnesses to the truth ; and it would be absurd to claim for Cranmer or Ridley an authority which we deny, and rightly deny, to Polycarp or Ignatius. There are, however, occasions in which these, our second Fathers, may be considered as speaking, not merely their own opinions on doctrine and discipline, but the decisions of the Anglican Church. In the Articles, the Liturgies, the Formularies, put forth, from time to time, by *Convocation*, the works adopted or sanctioned by that body, the occasional forms of prayer enjoined by the Metropolitan Archbishop, we have documents varying in the degree of their authority, but all speaking with a weight greater than any exposition of private judgment. Here, then, we find a class of writings more valuable, in the decision of controversies affecting our Anglican Church,

than *any* other. We may, perhaps, find men of equal power and equal learning to say the same things; but they speak not with the same authority. We may find, for instance, the same assertions in Jewell and Gladstone; but in the declaration of one you have the decision of Convocation—in that of the other, a valuable, but still private opinion.

Under all these circumstances, the Fathers of our own communion are to be treated as Fathers of the Universal Church; they have the same office and the same authority; they stand forward as evidences of the faith of their own age—as landmarks against the encroachments of error; and they, though dead, yet speak by their immortal bequests, and enable us to apply the canon of Tertullian—“*Si quid antiquum id verum, si quid novum id periculosum et adulterius.*”

The investing these eminent men with an authority which they never asserted for themselves, and to which they have no reasonable claim, is, however, not the only danger impending over those who make the appeal to their writings. The mere living in a particular age is by no means sufficient to make a man a credible historian of the period; nor does it even invest his casual testimony with much value: and if this be the case, with regard to the usual staple of history, much more must it be so when the subject under discussion is so fugitive in its character, and so difficult to ascertain, as general opinion.

It has been said, somewhat hastily, that if a man, connected with any particular body, puts forth a statement which is never contradicted by the members of that body, it may be fairly taken as an exposition of their sentiments

on the matter in question: but, in order to make this a true position, respect must be had to the *station* of the individual, to the *weight* assigned to his authority, to the chance of *circulation* which his opinions possess. We may easily conceive some strange heresy broached by an obscure clergyman in a remote province, or among the dense masses of a crowded city, which may be published without attracting any notice, or eliciting any reply; circumstances may keep it from the eye of the diocesan, and it may drop still-born from the press: but it would be very unfair for a controversialist in a subsequent age to republish the forgotten tract—to parade the fact that it met with no antagonist—and to assure the astonished world that *such* was the doctrine of “*the Church*” at the period of the pamphlet’s appearance.

The Bishop of Exeter rightly judged that “Socialism” (as the newest abomination is called) required a check and he gave it one—and an effectual check it proved, but would he have done this had Socialism been the dream of a few crazy fanatics, and neither spreading nor likely to spread? Surely not: in such case the wiser plan would have been, to have allowed the evil to die in its native obscurity.

Something more, then, is required than mere communion with the Anglican Church, and the absence of opposition (that is, the opposition of men considerable for station, and learning, and virtues, and talents), to render the writings of any individual an exposition of the opinions held by the Church in his day.

It is requisite, in the first place, that he should be a man of sufficient eminence to attract attention to *all* that

he published ; and it would matter but little whether this eminence were referable to his position in the Church, or his position in the State (for a layman may bear this testimony as well as a clergyman) ; to his profound learning, universally acknowledged, as in the case of Bingham ; or to the soundness of his judgment, remarkable amongst all men, as in the case of Hooker. *Any* title to attention which must secure circulation to a man's opinions, and add weight to his decision, will, in proportion to its degree, remove him out of the class of ordinary men, and make *his uncontroverted statements* a fair exposition of the opinions held in his day. So important is the discussion in which we are now engaged, that we shall, even at the risk of being tedious, illustrate our position by instances.

Be it remembered, that our argument is of no less moment than to prove our Catholicity—to shew that the opinions which *we* entertain were entertained by the Reformers of our Church, and by the immediate disciples of the Apostles—we say, *the immediate disciples* of the Apostles ; for in our day, all heretics refer to the Apostles themselves as the founders of their several systems.

To return, therefore, to our subject. Let it be imagined (and the case, though within the reach of hypothesis, is not, God be thanked, within the verge of probability)—let it be supposed that an Archbishop of Canterbury were infected with the Socinian heresy, and ventured to publish his adherence thereto. Neither his high station, nor his metropolitan authority, would shelter him from the indignant remonstrances of his brethren in the ministry. Bishops, priests, and deacons, would unite in the work of vindicating the faith, and the treachery of the unfaithful

chief pastor would be overwhelmed by the flood of their evidence to the truth.

Now such Metropolitan might be a man whose mental power would hardly entitle his opinion to any consideration, but his *station* would suffice to give all his writings a certain degree of influence, and *therefore* none of an erroneous tendency would be allowed to remain uncontroverted. But station in the Church is not the only title to eminence which gains influence to individual opinions. All men who are brought prominently before the public eye, obtain thereby a power, and incur a responsibility, which attaches not to the class of ordinary men: their lives are watched, their opinions observed, and whatever they say or do, which is in contradiction to received opinions, is narrowly examined, and the grounds of their practice or declarations carefully investigated.

It is on this principle that the Editors of the “TRACTS OF THE ANGLICAN FATHERS” have proceeded in their selection, viz., to take Tracts written by men whose errors would have surely been noticed by their contemporaries—who had been employed to draw up the Formularies of the Church—whose station, and learning, and piety, caused their works to be “known and read of all men.”

Much has been written, and, in its day, read and praised, which, by the wise judgment of posterity, has been allowed to sink into oblivion. It would be folly to draw it from its obscurity, simply because it was written in the age immediately subsequent to the Reformation. One evil which must attend an ill-judged publication of this kind is, that the principle itself, which it is our chief object to establish, would be in danger of being lost. Among

the vast masses of the old divinity, almost every shade of error will find its advocate ; and the natural effect upon the minds of those who examine but superficially, will be a despair of tracing anything like unity in our Church writers.

The Romanist, who talks of the “Anglican Schism,” is well aware of these difficulties, and anxious to increase them, by arraying authority against authority, without any regard to their relative value. The “insecurity of Protestantism” is thus made to assume a prominent position ; and it is estimated, that a peculiar feature of our Church is the variety of opinions which her members have maintained. A very little consideration—a very moderate degree of research—will show the mind perplexed with reasonings such as these not only that the same is the case with every branch of the Church Catholic, which has a literature at all, but may in a special manner, and under circumstances of more flagrant inconsistency, be predicated of the Church of Rome herself. The variations of Romanism are, indeed, startling ; and the more so because of the claim to infallibility set up by the Roman Church. We must not, therefore, ignorantly conclude, that *no* use can be made in controversy of writings which, when taken as a whole, embody so vast a difference of sentiment ; the rightly-judging will expect that, on each document they select as having authority, there shall be visible some marks of moral or historical connection with the Church of the time. Editors and reprinters would surely do wisely if they simply stated the principle on which they made their choice of documents, and left it to the public to decide whether they had acted on it honestly or not.

Such, at least, is the course which we have been obliged to adopt for ourselves, literally seeing no other; and we put forth this first volume of “TRACTS OF THE ANGLICAN FATHERS” as a fair, though brief, commentary on the Prayer Book, at each of its revisions—a fair, though brief, expression of the sentiments of the Church (and not merely of some of her individual members) from age to age.

We began by citing Archbishop Cranmer, to shew the sentiments of the Church in his day touching the Sacraments, the Authority of the Church, the Power of the Keys, and the Apostolical Succession; and we fortunately possess sermons set forth by that prelate, but *not* his own productions, on these subjects. We esteem this a fortunate circumstance: first, because, had they not been in accordance with the spirit of that day, they would have been more vehemently attacked, than had they been written by the Archbishop himself; secondly, because, as they were “put forth” by him while engaged in compiling the Prayer Book, they *authoritatively* express the opinions of the *Primate*, while they involve no peculiar adherence to those of the *man*. Cranmer’s sentiments varied from Romanism to Erastianism; and, as we observed in the preface to the first Tract, “had we to choose a master from among the Reformers, we should not select Cranmer, while we might listen to the more consistent and catholic, though not more honest, Ridley.” We proceeded to cite Jewell and Nowell, both men of high station, profound learning, and deep piety; and both, moreover, *recognised* by the Church at large by the employments which were confided to them, as speaking in her

name, and not merely in their own,—the testimony of these eminent men did we adduce, to prove that the same doctrines continued to be taught, none within the Church Anglican opposing them. We went on again, still treating of the authority committed by our Lord to his Church, to bring forward the testimony of two men equal to the last in learning and ability, even superior to them in station, and, like them, recognised by the Church as speaking *her* language. These great and good men were Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester. And, in the next number, we cited Archbishop Laud, as combatant against the corruptions of Popery, and Charles I., the temporal head of the Church, the asserter of *her* spiritual supremacy: thus exhibiting in their proper colours two very much misunderstood men. It was with a degree of melancholy pleasure that we placed in juxtaposition the names of these martyrs, and gave proof that one, whom modern fanaticism would brand as a Papist, was a stern and uncompromising adversary of Romanism; and that the other, stigmatised as an arbitrary tyrant by the same spirit, was a meek and humble Christian. And, finally, we brought down the same doctrines to the period of the Savoy Conference, as displayed in the works of Bishop Sanderson, Cosin, and Sparrow.

Thus we present to the reader a series of short but pithy treatises on the Authority and Commission of the Church, exhibiting, at a glance, the opinions which, even from the period of the Reformation, she *authoritatively* taught. We are quite aware that the subject is by no means exhausted, and that the “TRACTS OF THE AN-

GLICAN FATHERS," on this one topic, viz., the Authority and Commission of the Church, might be expanded to an indefinite extent. Here, however, we close the subject: and, having said thus much as to our past labours, we shall add a few words as to the course we intend to follow in the succeeding volumes.

The "TRACTS OF THE ANGLICAN FATHERS" will be completed in four volumes. The first, which is now published, contains Tracts on the Authority and Commission of the Church; Vol. II. will contain Doctrinal Tracts; Vol. III., Tracts on Discipline; Vol. IV., Practical Tracts; and it is hoped that the whole will present such a "*catena Patrum*" as to all these points, that the Apostolicity of our Anglican Church shall be fully established, even to the satisfaction of those who have no opportunity of investigating the bulky folios from whence we shall draw our stores. There was a period, and no long time has elapsed since, when to defer to the judgment of our forefathers was openly denounced as Popish—when it was considered a criterion of evangelical truth that each man should make his own opinions, or, if he admitted a guide at all, should admit one of his own or the previous generation. That this neglect of Christian antiquity was synchronous with a great revival of spirituality within the Church, cannot be denied; nor that an awful deadness had, for a long time previous, overspread the body catholic. The Clergy, as a body, had not only left unopened the tomes of the Fathers, but they had also taken little pains to awaken the souls of their flocks. A few good men gradually, by precept and example, aroused the sleeping shepherds, and we are now enjoying the blessings of a *second* Reformation. Yet, be-

cause they were prepared but to remedy half the evil, those who have followed in their steps have been continually necessitated to amend *their* principles, and to enlarge the sphere which *they* had enjoyed of mental vision. The pastors of the English Church were, with few exceptions, content, in the former half of the eighteenth century, “to dwell in decencies for ever:” they had, indeed, some learning, but little or no zeal; and when the warmth and energy of which characterized the new school began to mingle with their ranks, the more glaring defects were, of course, the first to be remedied. The present is not the place to enlarge on the merits or the deficiencies of the more modern class of divines; it is quite certain that any failing in great excess will soon produce a re-action in a contrary excess: the overstrained bow must be strained in the contrary direction before it will be fit for use; and doubtless it was by the re-action of which we speak, that, under God’s providence, the present more healthful state of the Church has been brought about. Of this more healthy state, the first and most *encouraging* symptom was a wide-spreading demand for Church accommodation; the second, a very gradual but still increasing respect for the *office* rather than the *persons* of God’s ministers; the third and most *important* symptom was a revival of theological learning among the lay members of the Church. It began to be suspected that there *might* be something to be learned from the ages past—that those who had listened to the teaching of St. John or St. Paul *might* perhaps understand the epistles, or the revelation, at least as well as some “*mediocritur doctus*” of our own day; and that those who drew up the Articles, and framed the Liturgy,

and wrote the Homilies, of our Church, might possibly understand their spirit as well as ourselves. Like the little leaven this idea began to work; and meeting in its way with certain *ingenia perfervida*, it produced another re-action, which is now dying away. The waters so often troubled are becoming clear, and the image of truth, reflected from the unclouded heaven, is growing daily more distinct.

It is quite true that there have been at all times majestic intellects, which, placed by their own elevation above the war of opinion, have communed ever with pure truth: they have been the beacon-lights of our theology; and, guided by their passionless blaze, the sounder among judgments have avoided vulgar conflict. Our task is to point them out, to aid the uncertain in their search, and to support the wavering in their pursuit after truth. To examine the works of these giants of the days past, will have, at least, one wholesome effect—it will shew us that, intellectually speaking, we are but pigmies; that, instead of boasting concerning the illumination of our era, we should rather meekly and reverently seek for information among those who can neither exult over nor reproach us, but whose stores of learning are ever open for our use.

We may possibly add a fifth volume, should it be considered desirable, to give an epitome of the doctrine of the Anglican Fathers, *prior* to the Reformation, on some points of the Roman controversy. Such, for instance, as Transubstantiation, Divine Grace, Purgatory, and the Authority of the Roman See: Tracts of our Fathers from Ælfric (if not earlier) to Anselm, from Anselm to Grostète, from Grostète to Bradwardine, and from Bradwardine to Cuth-

bert Tunstall of Durham. These might very profitably be reprinted, to show that the Anglican Church, even before the Reformation, was not distinctively Roman, if that term be interpreted as it should be, “*Tridentine*.”

We would maintain that, though unreformed, and in many points, therefore, grossly corrupt, she was no more Roman (in any bad sense) then, than Puritan in after age.

We have now only to express our regret at the long delay which has occurred in the publication of this volume: continued ill health, and a pressure of parochial business on the part of the late Editor, has hitherto prevented it.

C.

CAMBRIDGE,

The Feast of St. Thomas.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN reprinting, for popular distribution, these Sermons, set forth by the authority of Archbishop Cranmer, it is very far from the wish of the Editors to sanction the notion, that Christian truth—or that view of it which the Church of England has taken—is dependent on the personal opinions, or private judgment, of any man, or men, of station or influence, however high. Happily, there is no question among us of the English communion, that “holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.” But there are among us many questions and debates as to what really is the scriptural truth, as recognized and set forth by the Prayer-book of our Church. And for the express purpose of throwing some popular light on such questions, these Tracts are reprinted; as well as on account of their further tendency (in the judgment of the Editors) to promote the general edification of Christians.

Every one knows that there are, at present, within the pale of our Church, two very different classes of interpretation of divine truth, and that the Church’s authority is challenged with some boldness, by both the opposing parties, as clearly and expressly in their favour. How much fairness there is in some of these appeals, it would be melancholy to have to say. The one party refers to the Liturgy and Services chiefly; the other, to some of the Articles; while neither seems willing to concede to the other what candour demands. The old charges are constantly revived, of Puritanism on the one side, and Popery on the other, and thrown back, from this to that, with a puerile animosity and zeal, which, were the subject less serious and sacred, would place the combatants beneath notice. The most obsolete and worn-out mistakes of the last two centuries have teemed forth in pamphlets, of which the ink and the paper, and a somewhat pert and more assured look of ignorance, are the only new points. Surely all this is unworthy of us. Lookers-on—Dissenters, for instance—see very plainly how the case stands between us. How long are we determined to blind ourselves to the truth? It certainly is not so difficult to fix the meaning of an English sentence as controversialists would have us believe. In coming, and, we trust, better times, it will, we think, be quoted as a curious and remarkable fact, that there once existed a consi-

derable number of the English clergy, who succeeded in persuading themselves that their Church did not consider the grace of regeneration to be conveyed in baptism.

Let not this be taken, however, as insinuating that the disingenuousness which we complain of has been all on one side. The case may perhaps be fairly represented by a few remarks on two of our Articles, the sixteenth and seventeenth; the former is concerning “sin *after* baptism”—the latter, concerning “predestination and election.” Now let it be honestly asked, as to the first, whether it would have occurred for a moment to a maintainer of the modern theology to draw up an Article on any such point as “sin after baptism?” Whether he would have thought of recognizing any such distinction as this between sin *before* and *after* baptism, and between “deadly” sin and other sins? We do not enquire whether this Article may or may not be believed by the receivers of modern opinions—(probably it would seem, to most of them, to announce a mere truism)—but whether the having an Article on such a subject, and so phrased, does not indicate the existence, among our Reformers, of opinions very different from those which are common at the present day? The existence of the Article, and not the wording of it, is the difficulty. No one, surely, who understands the point in question, whatever his own sentiments may be, will fail to acknowledge, if he be an impartial thinker, that the sixteenth Article of our Church implies an admission of much which many would now call “Popish.” It is evidently in harmony with all the feelings and thoughts of the *old* divinity. It is, to a certain extent, then, decisive on the question as to the spirit of our first reformed theology. Granting even that the words of the Article do not contradict the modern religious tenets, still they are such as the modern teachers do not and could not think of using; and so it is, that certain there were elements in the divinity of the Anglican Fathers which peculiarly distinguished it from that of their sons in this generation.

But, on the other hand, it is by far too common, with those who defend the ancient Christianity, to allow too little to those who think that they must interpret Calvinistically the seventeenth Article. This is unwise, as well as unfair. Here the *wording* of the Article, and not the having such an Article, is the difficulty. The wording of it is certainly such as the generality will always be apt to consider Calvinian, while it remains as it is; and the prejudice in favour of the modern opinion, generally, is often created by our seeming reluctance to do justice to those who think this seventeenth Article to be in their favour. Surely we can well afford them the solitary admission that the wording of this one Article seems *now* more suitable to them

than to us. Why should we imitate, in any measure, that sort of unfairness which we charge on them throughout? The seventeenth Article is not inspired, and there can be no necessity for maintaining that every one of its phrases is precisely the fittest that could have been employed; and yet, from our mode of defending it, sometimes amounting to this seems to be practically assumed. It is not enough for us to show (what no one doubts) that our Articles preceded, rather than followed, the Genevan doctrine. Ordinary readers will still feel that the words of this seventeenth Article, at least, appear to recognize a theology very similar, at all events, to the Calvinian, and they require to have it shown that, in point of fact, our Reformers did not admit any such system. This should be made to appear as far as possible from their contemporary writings; and it should further be shown, how the language of the Reformers has often acquired a new meaning by being taken up and adopted by the controversialists of later times.*

But it may perhaps be urged, that there might be no end to the disputes as to the scope and spirit of our Service-book, if, according to this recommendation, we are to judge thereof by the extant opinions of its compilers; seeing that there is very great diversity of opinion among them, and that not unfrequently they differ from themselves at different times. There is truth in this: they did so differ—but that fact does not affect our enquiry so far as seems to be imagined. We are not, in this publication, proposing to examine the opinions of any individual Reformers, at any stage of the changes which they certainly passed through. Any one might thus select passages to suit himself. Our enquiry is, simply, as to those *authoritative* documents, or *contemporary* publications, which they put forth. The spirit and scope of such documents cannot but furnish very valuable assistance for the settlement of the debated question, of the meaning which, *at the time*, our English Formularies were supposed and intended to have. Archbishop Cranmer's opinions,

* At all events, what the different Reformers of our Church—who certainly were no Calvinists—were all able to subscribe, we, their descendants, may well be allowed to sign, as they did, in no Calvinistic sense. By the way, we never heard that the Council of Trent was ever charged with Calvinism; yet the Tridentine Fathers certainly go further than the English Church on this point—even recognizing in some sort *personal or individual election*. The words of the Council are: “Nemo quoque quamdiu in hac mortalitate vivitur de arcana Divinæ Prædestinationis usque adeo presumere debet, &c. (which is similar to the cautionary part of our own Article), nam nisi ex speciali Revelatione sciri non potest quos Deus sibi elegerit.”—Sess. vi., cap. xii.

for example, varied at different times, from Romanism to Erastianism. Of his individual sentiments, however, we make no enquiry; but what opinions he authoritatively sanctioned concerning the essential truths of Christianity—(the Church and her sacraments)—*at the time* of the compiling of our Service-book, the Sermons printed in these four Tracts undeniably show. Perhaps sufficient justice has never yet been done to the character of that singularly candid-minded and well-learned prelate, who first forwarded, under God, the great work of our Reformation; but it is not for us to enter here upon any such topic. We wish to keep as clear as possible from even seeming to rest on the opinion or character of an individual. We will remark, however, that if we had to choose a master from among our Reformers, we certainly should not select Cranmer, while we might listen to the more consistent, and flexible, and catholic, though not more honest, Ridley. Viewed in this respect, indeed, it is fortunate that the Sermons now reprinted were not originally composed by the archbishop himself, but merely translated under his direction (from the Latin of Justus Jonas), and “set forth by his authority,” for the special instruction of the people. This was done at the very time, however, when the English Prayer-book was in preparation.* The “Catechismus” was set forth in 1548, and the Consecration and Ordination Service was added a few months afterwards. So that it will follow, either that the English archbishop sent forth, at the same time, two totally different sets of doctrines, and put his archiepiscopal sanction to both at once; or else the plain and unequivocal teaching of these Sermons, from the “Catechismus,” will afford, we think, a striking exposition of the Church’s meaning, and a most satisfactory refutation of the modern attempts to explain away the strong catholic language in our reformed offices.

OXFORD,

The Feast of St. James.

* Ridley’s words on the reformed doctrine and practice of some churches, made use of towards the close of his life, are sufficiently remarkable to deserve a place here, and in the memory of every English Churchman:—“Sudden changes, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love.” To Ridley (under providence) we may attribute, among other blessings, the primitive integrity of our service for the holy Communion. He calls the consecration of the elements—“A change such as no mortal man can make, but only the omnipotency of Christ’s word!”—See his Life, p. 20.

HOLY BAPTISM.

BY THE MOST REV. THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following is a plain reprint of a Sermon, set forth, at the time of our English Reformation, by the chief of our Fathers—Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. It will be observed that this Sermon was originally published a short time *after* Cranmer's Sermons of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works (in the Homilies), and in the same year as the first Prayer-book of Edward VI.; and in that book the Office for the Public Baptism of Infants is essentially the same as at present.

CAMBRIDGE—*The Feast of the Resurrection.*

R.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, good children, in the Gospel of St. John, saith thus: "Except a man be born again of the water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Now we ought to direct our whole life to come to the kingdom of heaven. For the Lord saith, "First seek the kingdom of God." And you have heard heretofore that we daily make this petition to God, "Thy kingdom come." Wherefore it is very necessary for us to know how we must be born again, and what this second birth is, without the which we cannot enter into the kingdom of God. But when we speak of a second birth, you shall not so grossly understand this saying, as though a man, which is once born, should enter again into his mother's womb, and so be born again as he was before (for it were great foolishness so to think). But here we mean of a second birth, which is spiritual, whereby our inward man and mind is renewed by the Holy Ghost, so that our hearts and minds receive new desires, which they had not of their first birth or nativity.

And the second birth is by the water of baptism, which Paul calleth the bath of regeneration,* because our sins be forgiven us in baptism, and the Holy Ghost is poured into us as into God's beloved children, so that by the power and working of the Holy Ghost we be born again spiritually, and made new

* "*The fountain of our regeneration* is there [in the Church] presented unto us."—*The Homily for repairing and keeping clean of Churches. Homilies*, edit. 1587. See also *The Homily of Fasting*.

creatures. And so by baptism we enter into the kingdom of God, and shall be saved for ever, if we continue to our lives' end in the faith of Christ.

Wherefore, good children, consider diligently the strength of baptism, and mark well how great treasures and how excellent benefits you received in your baptism, that you may thank God for the same, and comfort yourselves by them in all your temptations, and endeavour yourselves faithfully to perform all things which you promised in your baptism. And that you may do this the better, hear and learn the words of our master Christ, by the which he did ordain and institute baptism, and oftentimes repeat the same, that you may learn them word for word without the book. These be the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, spoken to his disciples:—"Go into the whole world, and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He that will believe and be baptized shall be saved; but he that will not believe shall be damned."

By these words our Lord Jesus Christ did institute baptism, whereby we be born again to the kingdom of God. And you, good children, shall give diligence not only to rehearse these words, but also to understand what Christ meant by the same; that when you be demanded any question herein, you may both make a direct answer, and also in time to come be able to teach your children, as you yourselves are now instructed. For what greater shame can there be than a man to profess himself to be a Christian man, because he is baptized, and yet he knoweth not what baptism is, nor what strength the same hath, nor what the dipping in the water doth betoken? Whereas all our lifetime we ought to keep those promises, which there we solemnly made before God and man; and all our profession and life ought to agree to our baptism. Wherefore, good children, to the intent you may the better know the strength and power of baptism, you shall first understand that our Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted and annexed to the Gospel three sacraments,* or holy seals, of his covenant and league made with

* Albeit the learned author here speaketh of three sacraments of the new law, he is not to be so understood as to sanction any corrupt doctrine of the Church of Rome touching the sacraments, or to interfere with that truth which the English Church teacheth in her Catechism, namely, that there are but two proper sacraments generally necessary to salvation. That which is here expressed as the sacrament of absolution, is no more than what the later divines, as Hooker, Taylor, and others, more accurately signified by the name "sacramental."—See *The Homily of Common Prayer and the Sacraments*.

us. And by these three, God's ministers do work with us in the name and place of God (yea, God himself worketh with us), to confirm us in our faith, to asserten [assure] us that we are the lively members of God's true Church, and the chosen people of God, to whom the Gospel is sent, and that all those things belong to us whereof the promises of the Gospel make mention. The first of these sacraments is baptism, by the which we be born again to a new and heavenly life, and be received into God's Church and congregation, which is the foundation and pillar of the truth. The second is absolution, or the authority of the keys, whereby we be absolved from such sins as we be fallen into after our baptism. The third sacrament is the communion, or the Lord's Supper, by the which we be fed and nourished, and fortified in the faith of the Gospel and knowledge of Christ, that by this food we may grow more and more in newness of life, so that we may be no longer children, but may wax perfect men, and full grown, in Christ.

For I would that ye should well know this, good children, that a Christian man's knowledge and life is a more excellent thing than unlearned people can judge. For a Christian man hath the certain word of God whereupon he may ground his conscience that he is made a Christian man, and is one of Christ's members, which he is assured of by baptism. For he that is baptized may assuredly say thus—I am not now in this wavering opinion that I only suppose myself to be a Christian man, but I am in a sure belief that I am made a Christian man. For I know for a surety that I am baptized, and I am sure also that baptism was ordained of God, and that he which baptized me did it by God's commission and commandment. And the Holy Ghost doth witness that he which is baptized hath put upon him Christ. Wherefore the Holy Ghost in my baptism assureth me, that I am a Christian man. And this is a true and sincere faith which is able to stand against the gates of hell, forasmuch as it hath for it the evidence of God's word, and leaneth not to any man's saying or opinion. Furthermore, good children, you shall diligently learn the cause wherefore we are baptized. You have already heard that by baptism we be born again.

The cause of this our second birth is the sinfulness and filthiness of our first birth. For by our first nativity (when we were born of our fathers and mothers) all we were born in sin; and when we issued out of our mother's womb, we were laden with sin and God's anger, as it was at large declared unto you in the exposition of the ten commandments, and specially in the last commandment. For as Adam did sin, and by sin was so cor-

rupted, both in his body and soul, that by his own power or strength he was not able to do any good thing; even so all the children and offspring of Adam be born sinners, so that they cannot be justified by themselves, or by their own strength, but are inclined and bent to sin at all times; and, as St. Paul saith, "by nature they be the children of God's wrath."

That is to say, God is angry with us for those sins which by nature be, as it were, akin to us, and we be born with them into this world. But when we be born again by baptism, then our sins be forgiven us,* and the Holy Ghost is given us, which doth make us also holy, and doth move us to all goodness. Wherefore, good children, when a man is baptized, it is as much [as] to say, as he doth there confess, that he is a sinner, and that he is under the rule and governance of sin, so that of himself he cannot be good or righteous. And therefore he cometh to baptism, and there seeketh for help and remedy, and desireth God first to forgive him his sins, and at length to deliver him clearly from all sin, and perfectly to heal his soul from the sickness of sin, as the physician doth perfectly heal his patient from bodily diseases. And, for his part, he promiseth to God again, and solemnly voweth, that he will fight against sin with all his strength and power, and that he will gladly bear the cross and all such afflictions as it shall please God to lay upon him, and that also he will be content to die, that he may be perfectly healed and delivered from sin. For God doth forgive us our sins by faith, but by afflictions and death he doth take them clean away; as St. Peter witnesseth, saying, "He that suffereth, or is afflicted in the flesh, doth cease from sin." And St. Paul saith, "He that is dead is justified or delivered from sin." These be the promises which we make when we are baptized; and of this mind must all they be which shall have any fruit by baptism. Wherefore, seeing all you, that be here, are already baptized, continue, I pray you, in this good mind and purpose, [ac]knowledge in your hearts before God that you be sinners, be sorry for the same, and pray to God to heal and deliver you from your sin. Beware you fall not to sin again; have no delight in sin, nor sin not willingly. But be godly and holy, and

* "We must trust only in God's mercy, and that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour, Jesus the Son of God, once offered for us on the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, *as well of our original sin in baptism*, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly to him again."—*The second part of the Sermon of Salvation*. See also *The first Homily of the Passion*.

suffer gladly such afflictions as God shall lay upon your backs. And if you do thus, then your baptism shall be available unto you, and God shall work in you by his Holy Spirit, and shall finish in you all those things which by baptism he hath begun.

Hitherto you have heard what we promise to God when we are baptized; now learn also, I pray you, what God worketh in us by baptism, and what benefits he giveth us in the same. For baptism is not water alone, and nothing else besides, but it is the water of God, and hath his strength by the word of God, and is a seal of God's promise; wherefore it doth work in us all those things whereunto God hath ordained it. For our Lord Jesus Christ saith, "Go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." This God commanded his disciples to do. Wherefore, by the virtue of this commandment, which came from heaven, even from the bosom of God, baptism doth work in us, as the work of God. For when we be baptized in the name of God, that is as much [as] to say, as God himself should baptize us. Wherefore we ought not to have an eye only to the water, but to God rather, which did ordain the baptism of water, and commanded it to be done in his name. For he is Almighty, and able to work in us, by baptism, forgiveness of our sins, and all those wonderful effects and operations for the which he hath ordained the same, although man's reason is not able to conceive the same. Therefore consider, good children, the great treasures and benefits whereof God maketh us partakers when we are baptized, which be these: the first is, that in baptism our sins be forgiven us, as St. Peter witnesseth, saying, "Let every one of you be baptized for the forgiveness of his sins;" the second is, that the Holy Ghost is given us, the which doth spread abroad the love of God in our hearts, whereby we may keep God's commandments, according to this saying of St. Peter, "Let every one of you be baptized in the name of Christ, and then you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."

The third is, that by baptism the whole righteousness of Christ is *given* unto us, that we may claim the same as our own. For so St. Paul teacheth, saying, "As many of ye as are baptized in Christ have put upon you Christ."

Fourthly, by baptism we die with Christ, and are buried (as it were) in his blood and death, that we should suffer afflictions unto death, as Christ himself hath suffered. And as that man which is baptized doth promise to God that he will die with Christ, that he may be dead to sin and to the old Adam; so, on the other part, God doth promise again to him, that he shall be partaker of Christ's death and passion.

And also God maketh all afflictions which he suffereth to be good and profitable unto him, as was the passion of Christ, and not damnable, as it was to Judas, and divers other ungodly persons.

By this which I have hitherto spoken I trust you understand, good children, wherefore baptism is called the bath of regeneration, and how in baptism we be born again, and be made new creatures in Christ. The which doctrine you shall the better understand, if you consider in what condition you were before you were baptized, and in what state you stand in after your baptism.

First, before we were baptized, it is evident that we were sinners; and he that is a sinner can have no peace nor quietness of conscience before he come to Christ, so much he feareth God's wrath and everlasting damnation. But after that our sins in baptism be forgiven us, and we believe the promise of God, and so by our faith be justified,* then our consciences be quieted, and we be glad and merry, trusting assuredly that God is no more angry with us for our former offences, and that we shall not be damned for the same. And this is a marvellous alteration and renewing of the inward man, the which could be wrought by the power of no creature, but by God alone. Also, before we were baptized, we were slaves and bondmen to sin, so that we neither could do that good which we would have done, nor could keep us from that evil which we would not have done, as St. Paul complaineth of himself. But when by baptism the Holy Ghost was given us, the which did spread abroad the love of God in our hearts, and did also deliver us from the bondage and tyranny of sin, and gave us new strength and power to wrestle against sin, and manfully to withstand our ghostly enemy, the devil, then, after a certain manner, we were able to fulfil God's commandments. And this is a great change and renewing of the inward man. And this I would you should know for a surety, good children, and steadfastly believe the same, that no child of the Jews or Turks which is not baptized hath the Holy Ghost, neither that any such can understand the word of God, neither that any such is holy or righteous before God.

Wherefore you shall thank God with all your heart which hath brought you to baptism. And when you believe in the name of Christ, and love the Gospel, and are glad and diligent

* "After that we are baptized or justified."—*Third part of the Homily of Salvation.*

to hear the same, then this is a sure token that by the Gospel you have received the Holy Ghost.

Furthermore, he that is a sinner, and not baptized, although he had the Holy Ghost to this effect, to help him to fight against sin, yet oftentimes he is overcome and falleth to sin. And although he doth oftentimes overcome sin, yet this is a great imperfectness that he doth it not willingly, but that this fight against sin is tedious and grievous unto him. Wherefore he is ever in peril, lest he be overcome of sin. And in case he doth manfully withstand sin, yet he seeth that his justice and obedience be too weak and imperfect to stand before the judgment of God (as indeed no man, not the holiest, is able to stand before the judgment of God by his own righteousness). But when in baptism the righteousness of Christ is given and imputed to him, then he is delivered from all those perils. For he knoweth for a surety that he hath put upon him Christ, and that his weakness and imperfection are covered and hid with the perfect righteousness and holiness of Christ.

Wherefore after baptism he doth not trust in his own righteousness, but in Christ only. And he is no more pensive or doubtful considering his own weakness, but he is joyful, because he considereth that he is made partaker of Christ's righteousness. And this again is a great alteration and renewing of the inward man.

These new affections and spiritual motions are in the souls of such as are born again by baptism, but they be unknown to worldly men, and such as be not led by the Spirit of God. And when they that believe and be baptized do continue in this their faith to the end of their lives, then God shall raise them up from death to life, that they may be immortal, and live everlastingly with Christ; and then, when sin and the kingdom of death is utterly abolished and destroyed, we shall be perfectly holy and righteous, both in body and soul. And for this cause our Saviour Christ doth call, in the Gospel, the rising again from death a regeneration, or a second begetting. All these things doth baptism work in us, when we believe in Christ. And therefore Christ saith—"He that will believe and be baptized shall be saved; but he that will not believe shall be damned." Wherefore, good children, learn diligently, I pray you, the fruit and operation of baptism; for it worketh forgiveness of sin, it delivereth from death and power of the devil, it giveth salvation and everlasting life to all them that believe, as the words of Christ's promise doth evidently witness.

But peradventure some will say, how can water work such great things? To whom I answer, that it is not the water that

doth these things, but the almighty word of God (which is knit and joined to the water), and faith, which receiveth God's word and promise: for, without the word of God, water is water, and not baptism; but when the word of the living God is added and joined to the water, then it is the bath of regeneration, and baptism water, and the lively spring of eternal salvation, and a bath that washeth our souls by the Holy Ghost; as St. Paul calleth it, saying, "God hath saved us through his mercy, by the bath of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured upon us plenteously by Jesus Christ our Saviour, that we, *being made righteous* by his grace, may be heirs of everlasting life." This is a sure and true word. Ye shall also diligently labour, good children, to keep and perform those promises which you made to God in your baptism, and which baptism doth betoken. For baptism and the dipping into the water doth betoken, that the old Adam, with all his sin and evil lusts, ought to be drowned and killed by daily contrition and repentance, and that by renewing of the Holy Ghost we ought to rise with Christ from the death of sin, and to walk in a new life, that our new man may live everlastingly in righteousness and truth before God; as St. Paul teacheth, saying, "All we that are baptized in Christ Jesus are baptized in his death. For we are buried with him by baptism into death, that as Christ hath risen from death by the glory of his Father, so we also should walk in newness of life." And this is the plain exposition of the words of holy baptism; that is to say, that we should acknowledge ourselves to be sinners, desire pardon and forgiveness of our sins, be obedient and willing to bear Christ's cross, and all kinds of affliction, and at the last to die, that by death we may be perfectly delivered from sin. And therefore we ought to hate sin, and with all our power to fight against sin. For God in baptism hath forgiven us our sins, and given us the Holy Ghost, and made us partakers of the righteousness of his well-beloved Son Jesus Christ. Now consider deeply, I pray you, how great benefits these be, that you may not be unkind to him that hath done so much for you, but steadfastly believe these things, mortify sin, patiently suffer all diseases and adversities which it shall please God to send you; and then, without doubt, you shall be saved.

Wherefore, good children, learn these things diligently, and when you be demanded, what is baptism? then you shall answer—Baptism is not water alone, but it is water enclosed and joined to the word of God, and to the covenant of God's promise. And these be the words whereby our Lord Jesus Christ did ordain baptism, which be written in the last chapter

of St. Matthew—"Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

And when you shall be asked, what availeth baptism? you shall answer—Baptism worketh forgiveness of sin; it delivereth from the kingdom of the devil and from death, and giveth life and everlasting salvation to all them that believe these words of Christ, and promise of God, which are written in the last chapter of St. Mark, his gospel—"He that will believe and be baptized shall be saved; but he that will not believe shall be damned."

Thirdly, if a man ask you, how can water bring to pass so great things? ye shall answer—Verily the water worketh not these things, but the word of God, which is joined to the water, and faith, which doth believe the word of God: for without the word of God, water is water, and not baptism; but when the word of the living God is joined to the water, then it is baptism and water of wonderful wholesomeness, and the bath of regeneration through the Holy Ghost; as St. Paul writeth, "God saved us by the bath of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, whom he poured upon us plenteously by Jesus Christ our Saviour, that we, being made righteous by his grace, may be heirs of everlasting life." Fourthly, if a man ask you, what doth the baptizing in the water betoken? answer ye—It betokeneth that the old Adam, with all sins and evil desires, ought daily to be killed in us by true contrition and repentance; that he may rise again from death, and after he has risen with Christ may be a new man, a new creature, and may live everlastingly in God, and before God, in righteousness and holiness; as St. Paul writeth, saying, "All we that are baptized are buried with Christ into death, that as Christ rose again by the glory of his Father, so we also should walk in newness of life." Thus ye have heard, good children, what is meant by the words of baptism, by the which we are born again, and made new to everlasting life. Learn these things diligently, and thank God, who in Christ hath called you to be partakers of so large and ample benefits. And express baptism in your life, and baptism shall be the greatest comfort to you, both in your life-time, and also in your death-bed. For by baptism we be grafted into the death of Christ; wherefore sin, death, or hell, cannot hurt us, but we shall overcome all these things by faith, as Christ himself overcame them. And so by this new birth we shall enter into the kingdom of God and life everlasting.

The which God grant us all. AMEN.

NOTE.

Some moderns, in the heat of controversy, have affirmed that Cranmer's doctrine, touching baptismal regeneration, underwent a change before his martyrdom. This statement, however, is not grounded in truth; for, in his *last* work, his "Answer to Gardiner," he says—

"For this cause Christ ordained baptism in water, that, as surely as we see, feel, and touch water with our bodies, and be washed with water, so assuredly ought we to believe, when we be baptized, that Christ is verily present with us, and that by him we be newly born again spiritually, and washed from our sins, and grafted in the stock of Christ's own body, and be appareled, clothed, and harnessed with him in such wise, that as the devil hath no power against Christ, so hath he none against us, so long as we remain grafted in that stock, and be clothed with that apparel, and be harnessed with that armour." (Fol. edit. 1551, p. 42).

Again—"The wonderful work of God is not in the water, which only washeth the body; but God, by his omnipotent power, worketh wonderfully in the receivers thereof, scouring, washing, and making them clean inwardly, and, as it were, new men and celestial creatures. This have all old authors wondered at; this wonder passeth the capacities of all men's wits, how damnation is turned into salvation, and of the son of the devil condemned into hell is made the son of God and inheritor of heaven. This wonderful work of God all men may marvel and wonder at; but no creature is able sufficiently to comprehend it. And as this is wondered at in the sacrament of baptism, how he that was subject unto death receiveth life by Christ, and his Holy Spirit; so is this wondered at in the sacrament of Christ's holy table, how the same life is continued and endureth for ever, by continual feeding upon Christ's flesh and his blood." (p. 74).

Again—"As in baptism we must think, that as the priest putteth his hand to the child outwardly, and washeth him with water, so must we think that God putteth to his hand inwardly and washeth the infant with his Holy Spirit; and, moreover, that Christ himself cometh down upon the child and appareleth him with his own self." (p. 444).

It may be some satisfaction to the reader to see how nearly the Archbishop agreed with his brother Reformers in the aforesaid doctrine.

Bishop Ridley calls baptism regeneration, and the water in baptism "the fountain of regeneration." Thus—

"And, likewise, when I consider that all that man doth profess *in his regeneration*, when he is received into the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body," &c.—*Lamentation for the Change of Religion in England, in Legh Richmond's Selection from the Writings of the Reformers*, p. 142.

"The bread, indeed, is sacramentally changed into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of

regeneration, and yet the natural substance remaineth all one, as was before.”—*Treatise on the Lord's Supper. Ibid.* p. 183.

Bishop Hooper says—

“I believe, also, the holy sacraments (which are the second mark or badge of the true Church) to be the signs of the reconciliation and great atonement made between God and us, through Jesus Christ. They are seals of the Lord's promises, and are outward and visible pledges and gages of the inward faith, and are in number only twain; that is to say, Baptism, and the holy Supper of the Lord. *The which two are not void and empty signs, but FULL—that is to say, they are not only signs whereby something is signified, but also they are such signs as do exhibit and GIVE the thing that they signify indeed.....*

“I believe that baptism is the sign of the new league and friendship between God and us, made by Jesus Christ; and it is the mark of the Christians now, in the time of the Gospel, as, in time past, circumcision was a mark unto the Jews which were under the law. Yea, baptism is an outward washing done with water, thereby signifying an inward washing of the Holy Ghost, wrought through the blood of Christ. The which baptism ought as well to be given and communicated to little children as to those that be great, according to Jesus Christ, his ordinance, once for all, without any rebaptizing. This baptism is the Red Sea, wherein Pharaoh, that is to say, the devil, with his army of sins, are altogether drowned.....

“I believe, also, that baptism is the entry of the Church, a washing into a new birth, and a renewing of the Holy Ghost, whereby we do forsake ourselves, the devil, the flesh, sin, and the world. For being once rid of the old man, with all his concupiscences, we are clothed with the new man, which is in Jesus Christ, in righteousness and holiness, and with him we die and are buried in his death, to the end that with Christ we may rise from death to the glory of the Father. And even likewise, *being thus new born*, we should walk in newness of life, always mortifying in us that which is of us, that thereby the body of sin may be utterly destroyed and plucked up by the root.....

“By this baptism we are changed and altered from children of wrath, of sin, of the devil, and of destruction, into the children of God, of grace and salvation, thereby to be made the Lord's heirs and coheirs with Christ of eternal life; and for that cause the same ought to be given and communicated only to reasonable creatures, which are apt and meet to receive such things, and not unto bells and such like, which neither can receive nor use the thing signified by baptism.”—*Articles upon the Creed*, lviii., lix., edit. 1583.

Dr. Lancelot Ridley says—

“Here (Ephes. v. 26) is showed how Christ hath purged his Church truly in the fountain of water by his word. Although God of his mere mercy and goodness, without all man's deserts or merits, only for Christ's sake, hath washed and purged man from sin; yet he useth a mean by which he cleanseth men from sin, which is baptism in water, by the word of God; and so in baptism are our sins taken away, and we from sins purged, cleansed, and regenerated in a new man, to live an holy life, according to the Spirit and will of God. It is not the

water that washes us from sin, but Christ by his word and his Spirit, given to us in baptism, that washeth away our sins, that we have of Adam by carnal nature.

“In that the apostle saith, that Christ ‘hath cleansed his Church in the fountain of water by the word,’ he showeth plainly that baptism is a mean whereby Christ taketh away original sin, and maketh all them that be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according to Christ’s institution (Matt. xxviii.), to be cleansed from all the sin of Adam.....

“.....‘Except a man be born again of the Holy Ghost, and of water, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ To be born again of the Holy Ghost, and of water, it is to be christened, as Paul showeth to Titus (Tit. iii.), where baptism is called the fountain of regeneration, and of renewing of the Holy Ghost. Children, therefore, must be christened, if they shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, and be partakers of life celestial.”—*Commentary on the Ephesians, L. Richmond’s Fathers of the English Church*, vol. ii. pp. 135-137.

R.

THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION

AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE KEYS.

BY THE MOST REV. THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Sermon contains the deliberate and mature judgment of Archbishop Cranmer, touching the Apostolical Succession and the Power of the Keys : and will afford the true interpretation of the following and similar passages in the Office-book of the Church.

I. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.—*Article xxiii.*

II. It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church—bishops, priests, and deacons : which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same ; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority, &c.—*Preface to the Ordination Service Book.*

III. Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven ; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.—*Ordination Service.*

IV If there be any of you who cannot quiet his conscience herein, but requireth further comfort let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's word, and open his grief ; that by the ministry of God's holy word he may receive the benefit of absolution.—*Exhortation before the Holy Communion.*

V Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences : and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.—*Office for the Visitation of the Sick.*

VI. Brethren, in the primitive Church there was a godly discipline, that, at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be more afraid to offend. Instead whereof (until the said discipline may be restored again, which is much to be wished), it is thought good, &c.—*Communion Service.*

OXFORD—*The Feast of St. Mark.*

I.

THE holy apostle St. Paul, good children, in the tenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, writeth on this fashion—"Who-soever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. But how shall they call on him on whom they believe not? How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach except they be sent?" By the which words St. Paul doth evidently declare unto us two lessons.

The first is, that it is necessary to our salvation to have preachers and ministers of God's most holy word, to instruct us in the true faith and knowledge of God.

The second is, that preachers must not run to this high honour before they be called thereto, but they must be ordained and appointed to this office, and sent to us by God.* For it is not possible to be saved, or to please God, without faith; and no man can truly believe in God by his own wit (for of ourselves we know not what we should believe), but we must needs hear God's word taught us by other.

Again, the teachers, except they be called and sent, cannot fruitfully teach. For the seed of God's word doth never bring forth fruit, unless the Lord of the harvest do give increase, and by his Holy Spirit do work with the sower. But God doth not work with the preacher whom he hath not sent, as St. Paul saith.

"How shall they preach if they be not sent?" Wherefore it is requisite that preachers should be called and sent of God; and they must preach according to the authority and commission of God, granted unto them, whereby they may strengthen men's belief, and assure their consciences that God hath commanded them to preach after this or that fashion: for else every man should still be in doubt, and think after this sort—who knoweth whether this be true which I hear the preacher say?—who can tell whether God hath commanded him to preach these things or no?—and in case he teaches nothing but truth, yet I am not sure that God will work with me, as the preacher pro-

* See Note I.

miseth—perchance these promises pertain to other, and not to me. These doubts, in the time of temptation, might trouble men's minds, if we were not assured that our Lord Jesus Christ himself hath both ordained and appointed ministers and preachers to teach his holy word and to minister his sacraments; and also hath appointed them what they shall teach in his name, and what they shall do unto us. Therefore he called them and sent them, and gave them instructions what they should do, and speak to us in his name, to the intent that we should give sure credence unto their words, and believe that God will work with us according to his words by them spoken. And he hath promised, therefore, that whatsoever they should bind upon earth should be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they should loose upon earth should be loosed in heaven. Wherefore, good children, to the intent you may steadfastly believe all things which God by his ministers doth teach and promise unto you, and so be saved by your faith, learn diligently, I pray you, by what words our Lord Jesus Christ gave this commission and commandment to his ministers, and rehearse them here, word for word, that so you may print them in your memories, and recite them the better when you come home. The words of Christ be these :—

Our Lord Jesus Christ breathed on his apostles and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; and whose sins you reserve, they are reserved."

Now, good children, you shall employ yourselves not only to rehearse these words without book, but also to understand what our Lord Jesus Christ meant by them; that when you shall be asked any question herein, you may make a direct answer, and that also in time to come you may be able to instruct your children in the same. For what greater shame can there be, either in the sight of God or of man, than to profess thyself to be a Christian man, and yet to be ignorant in what place of Scripture, and by what words, Christ commanded faith and forgiveness of sins to be preached?—seeing that a Christian man ought to believe nothing as an article of his faith, except he be assured, that either it is God's commandment or his word.

Now, good children, that you may the better understand these words of our Saviour Christ, you shall know that our Lord Jesus Christ, when he began to preach, did call and choose his twelve apostles; and afterwards, besides those twelve, he sent forth threescore and ten disciples, and gave them authority to preach the Gospel. And a little before his death and passion he made his prayer to his heavenly Father for them, and for

all those that should believe through their preaching, as it is declared in the Gospel of St. John. Now it is not to be doubted but that Christ's prayer was heard of his heavenly Father; wherefore it followeth, that as many as believed the preaching of Christ's disciples, were as surely saved as if they had heard and believed Christ himself. And after Christ's ascension, the apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister God's word, and chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already, which lacked preachers, and the apostles themselves could no longer abide with them: for the apostles did walk abroad into divers parts of the world, and did study to plant the Gospel in many places. Wherefore, where they found godly men, and met to preach God's word, they laid their hands upon them, and gave them the Holy Ghost, as they themselves received of Christ the same Holy Ghost, to execute this office.

And they, that were so ordained, were indeed, and also were called, the ministers of God, as the apostles themselves were, as Paul saith unto Timothy. And so the ministration of God's word (which our Lord Jesus Christ himself did first institute) was derived from the apostles unto others after them, by imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the apostles' time to our days.* And this was the consecration, orders, and unction of the apostles, whereby they, at the beginning, made bishops and priests, and this shall continue in the Church, even to the world's end.† And whatsoever rite or ceremony hath been added more than this, cometh of man's ordinance and policy, and is not commanded by God's word.

Wherefore, good children, you shall give due reverence and honour to the ministers of the Church, and shall not meanly or lightly esteem them in the execution of their office, but you shall take them for God's ministers, and the messengers of our Lord Jesus Christ. For Christ himself saith in the Gospel, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." Wherefore, good children, you shall steadfastly believe all those things which such ministers shall speak unto you from the mouth and by the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ. And whatsoever they do to you, as when they baptize you, when they give you absolution, and distribute to you the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, these you shall so esteem as if Christ himself, in his own person, did speak and minister unto you. For Christ hath commanded his ministers to do this unto you; and he himself, although you see him not with

* See Note II.

† See Note III.

your bodily eyes, is present with his ministers, and worketh by the Holy Ghost in the administration of his sacraments.

And, on the other side, you shall take good heed and beware of false and privy preachers, which privily creep into cities, and preach in corners, having none authority, nor being called to this office. For Christ is not present with such preachers, and, therefore, doth not the Holy Ghost work by their preaching; but their word is without fruit or profit, and they do great hurt in commonwealths. For such as be not called of God, they, no doubt of it, do err, and sow abroad heresy and naughty doctrine. And yet you shall not think, good children, that preachers which be lawfully called have authority to do or teach whatsoever shall please them. But our Lord Jesus Christ hath given them plain instructions what they ought to teach and do, and if they preach, or do any other thing than is contained in their commission, then it is of no force, nor we ought not to regard it (nor ought we to regard it). And for this cause our Saviour Christ did breathe into his disciples, and gave them the Holy Ghost; for where the Holy Ghost is, there he so worketh, that he causeth us to do those things which Christ hath commanded, and when that is not done, then the Holy Ghost is not there. Wherefore, all things which we shall so speak or do can take none effect.

Now the sum of the commission which Christ gave to his disciples was this, that they should preach repentance and forgiveness of sin in his name; and he added thereto both a promise and a threatening, saying, "He that will believe and be baptized shall be saved, but he that will not believe shall be damned." Wherefore, all things, which the ministers of the Church do say or do to us, ought to be directed to this end, that they may loose us, and declare unto us the forgiveness of our sins, when we truly repent and believe in Christ. But when we do not repent us of our sin, and forsake the same, or do not believe the Gospel, then they ought to bind or reserve sin, and to declare unto us, that, if we still continue in sin, we shall be damned for ever: and when the ministers do thus execute their commission, then they obey God; and whose sins soever they forgive in earth, their sins be forgiven in heaven also; and contrariwise, whomsoever they bind in earth, their sins be bound also in heaven.

But if the ministers would enterprise to do contrary to their commission, that is to say, to forgive sins to unrepentant sinners and unbelievers—or to bind their sins, and deny them absolution, that be repentant and trust in the mercy of God—then they should not do well, nor their act should be of any force, but they should deceive themselves and other also; and then should that

be true that Christ speaketh in the Gospel, "When the blind leadeth the blind, both fall into the ditch." But when the ministers do truly execute their office, you ought, good children, to take great comfort, and to confirm your faith thereby, that you may steadfastly believe, and in all temptations answer your adversary the devil after this manner—"God hath sent me to one of his ministers; he, in the name and place of God, hath declared to me the forgiveness of my sins, and hath baptized me in the assurance of the same; wherefore I doubt not but that mysins be forgiven, and that I am made the son and heir of God.* Thus, good children, you ought generally, in all temptations, to fortify your faith, and to comfort yourselves with the authority of God's word; but especially you should learn this also, that our Lord Jesus Christ did intend, by this authority of the keys, to comfort the troubled consciences of them that, after their baptism, do fall into heinous offences.

For it is not so easy a thing to rise again from sin as the mad and blind world doth think; but when the devil and our faith shall skirmish together, then, in those straits and troubles of conscience, we have need of the help of some true minister of the Church, which (as it were in our swooning) may lift us up with the word of God, comfort and refresh us. As the wise king Solomon doth declare by this sentence, "Woe to that man which is alone, for when he falleth, he hath no man to lift him up again." And our Lord Jesus Christ doth speak so oftentimes in the Gospel of the authority of the keys, and hath added so great promises to the same, that it may well appear, by the earnestness of Christ's words, how careful he was for troubled consciences, and how fatherly an affection he had to comfort the same. Wherefore it undoubtedly followeth, that we have great need of this comfort, and that it is much to be esteemed and set by. For, first of all, our Saviour Christ, before he gave these keys indeed, promised to Peter that he would give them, saying, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall also be loosed in heaven."

Secondarily, Christ doth teach us how we shall use these keys, both in open and in secret sins. Of the use of the keys in open sins Christ speaketh these words—"If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if

* See Cranmer's "Sermon of Baptism." "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," No. 1.

he hear thee not, then take yet with thee one or two, that upon the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. If he hear not them, tell it unto the congregation; if he hear not the congregation, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." And of the use of the keys in privy and secret sins, our Saviour Christ hath taught us by his own deed and example. For [to] the man that was sick of the palsy, Christ said thus, "Son, conceive a steadfast faith; thy sins be forgiven thee." And as touching binding of sins, he said to the hard-hearted and stubborn Jews, "If you were blind, you should have no sin; but now, because you say you see, your sin abideth still;" that is to say, it is not forgiven.

Thirdly, our Saviour Christ, after his resurrection, gave the keys to his apostles (as before he had promised), breathing upon them and saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven." Now forasmuch as our Saviour Christ, in giving the keys, did promise us so great comfort—did so diligently teach the use of them—and did so faithfully and lovingly ordain and command them, and put them, as it were, into the hands of his apostles and their successors, we ought in no wise to despise this great authority which God has given unto men,* but thankfully to use it. For know this for a surety, good children, that it is a very great offence against God, little to care for his great gifts and benefits. Therefore, when we fall again to great sins after that we are once baptized, we ought not to walk in a certain wretchlessness (carelessness), thinking that our sins be forgiven us, only because God is merciful. (For this opinion, or wavering imagination, is more weak and feeble than that, in the fear and battle of the conscience, it is able to stand against the violent force and crafty assaults of the devil.) But in this fight between our conscience and the devil, our great trust and comfort is the sure word and work of God, which may ascertain us that our sins are forgiven; that is to say, when we obtain forgiveness of our sins, and absolution of the ministers of our Church, to whom Christ hath delivered the keys, and hath promised, saying, "Whose sins ye shall forgive in earth, their sins be forgiven in heaven also."†

And this also is to be reprovèd, that some men which continue in manifest and open sin, and go not about to amend their lives,

* St. Matt. iv. 1. See Note IV.

† "Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin."—*Homily of Common Prayer and Sacraments*.

yet they will be counted Christian men, and enterprise to receive the same sacraments that other do, to come to the church, to worship God, and to pray with other. Such must be warned of their faults, and if they refuse to hear and amend, then they ought to be excommunicated and put out of the Christian congregation, until they repent and amend their lives; lest, by such manifest sin and evil examples, other men might be provoked to do the like, and so at length many might be infected, and the Christian religion despised and spoken evil of, as though it were the worst religion, forasmuch as Christian men should then lead a shameful and ungodly life; and so, by this means, the name of God, and God himself, might be blasphemed among the heathen people. And although those canons, ordinances, and rites, which be agreeable to the Gospel (and were ordained in time past to punish such open transgressors and malefactors), are now in our time almost utterly abolished and taken away, yet for this cause we ought not to despise or cast away the authority and use of the keys. For they which presumptuously do cast away all yokes of ecclesiastical discipline or chastisement, and do let that such kind of correction which is agreeable to the Gospel may not be restored again, shall have, without doubt, God for their judge. But let us pray our Lord Jesus Christ, that, as it hath pleased him to restore unto us his most blessed word, and the true understanding of the same, so also he will vouchsafe to render and send again to us these and such like good and wholesome ordinances agreeable to his word.*

Now, when a man after baptism hath grievously sinned, and doubted in his conscience whether he be in the favour of God or no (as oftentimes it happeneth), then it is hard for him to trust to his own bare imaginations, thinking on this fashion: I know that I have sinned, but yet I am in this opinion, that God is not so cruel a revenger, but that he hath forgiven me. For such an opinion without God's word is not a true faith, nor is able to stand in the dangerous skirmishes of temptation. But true faith must ever be stayed upon the certain word and work of God. Now God doth not speak to us with a voice sounding out of heaven; but he hath given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the authority to forgive sin, to the ministers of the Church. Wherefore let him that is a sinner go to one of them. Let him [ac]knowledge and confess his sin, and pray him that, according to God's commandment, he will give him absolution, and comfort him with the word of grace and forgiveness of his sins. And when the minister doth so, then I ought steadfastly

* See Note V.

to believe that my sins are truly forgiven me in heaven. And such a faith is able to stand strong in all skirmishes and assaults of our mortal enemy, the devil; forasmuch as it is builded upon a sure rock—that is to say, upon the certain word and work of God. For he that is absolved, knoweth for a surety that his sins be forgiven him by the minister. And he knoweth assuredly, also, that the minister hath authority from God himself so to do. And, thirdly, he knoweth that God hath made this promise to his ministers, and said to them, “To whom ye forgive sins upon earth, to him also they shall be forgiven in heaven.”

Wherefore, good children, give good ear to this doctrine; and when your sins do make you afraid and sad, then seek and desire absolution and forgiveness of your sins of the ministers which have received a commission and commandment from Christ himself to forgive men their sins, and then your consciences shall have peace, tranquillity, and quietness. But he that doth not obey this counsel, but, being either blind or proud, doth despise the same, he shall not find forgiveness of his sins, neither in his own good works, nor yet in painful chastisements of his body, or any other thing whereto God hath not promised remission of sins. Wherefore despise not absolution, for it is the commandment and ordinance of God; and the Holy Spirit of God is present, and causeth these things to take effect in us, and to work our salvation.

And this is the meaning and plain understanding of these words of Christ which you heard heretofore rehearsed, which are written to the intent that we should believe, that whatsoever God's ministers do to us by God's commandment, are as much available as if God himself should do the same. For whether the ministers do excommunicate open malefactors and unrepentant persons, or do give absolution to those which be truly repentant for their sins, and amend their lives, these acts of the ministers have as great power and authority, and be confirmed and ratified in heaven, as though our Lord Jesus Christ himself had done the same. Wherefore, good children, learn these things diligently; and when you be asked, how understand you the words before rehearsed? ye shall answer—I do believe that whatsoever the ministers of Christ do to us by God's commandment, either in excommunicating open and unrepentant sinners, or in absolving repentant persons, all these their acts be of as great authority, and as surely confirmed in heaven, as if Christ should speak the words out of heaven.

So ye have, good children, the beginning and foundation of the ministers of God's word, and of the authority of the keys,

as our Lord Jesus Christ did first ordain and institute the same. The which our Saviour Christ did institute and appoint for this purpose, that our consciences might thereby be comforted, and assured of the forgiveness of sins, and to have the inestimable treasures of the Gospel as often as we have need thereof: that we, thereby being made strong in our faith, might so continue to the end of our life; and “he that continueth to the end shall be saved.” The which grant us, most merciful God. AMEN.

NOTES.

I.

“The ministry of things divine is a function which, as God did himself first institute, so neither may men undertake the same but *by authority and power given them in lawful manner*. That God, which is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessities, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness, to our endless perdition and woe, hath, in the like abundance of mercies, ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately, or as the Church in his name investeth, it being neither possible for all nor for every man without distinction convenient to take upon him a charge of such great importance. They are, therefore, ministers of God, not only by way of subordination, as princes and civil magistrates, whose execution of judgment and justice the supreme hand of Divine Providence doth uphold, but ministers of God, as from whom their authority is derived, and *not from men*. For in that they are Christ’s ambassadors and his labourers, who should give them their commission but he whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of Jesus Christ? What angel in heaven could have said to man as our Lord did unto Peter, ‘Feed my sheep—preach—baptize—do this in remembrance of me—whose sins ye retain they are retained—and their offences in heaven pardoned whose faults you shall on earth forgive?’ What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory; it raiseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himself down from heaven: by blessing visible elements, it maketh them invisible grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls: when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. O

wretched blindness, if we admire not so great power!—more wretched if we consider it aright, and, notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it!”—*Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity*, b. v., c. lxxvii. 2.

II.

“The Holy Ghost which he then gave was a holy and ghostly authority—authority over the souls of men—authority, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retain sins: ‘Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit they, are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained.’.....Seeing, therefore, that *the same power is now given*, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish?.....Besides that the power and authority delivered with those words is itself *χάρισμα*—a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow—we may most assuredly persuade ourselves that the hand which imposeth upon us the function of our ministry doth, under the same form of words, so tie itself thereunto, that he which receiveth the burden is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him and in him for his assistance, aid, countenance, and support, in whatsoever he faithfully doth to discharge duty.....When we take ordination, we also receive the presence of the Holy Ghost, partly to guide, direct, and strengthen us in all our ways, and partly to assume unto itself, for the more authority, those actions that appertain to our place and calling.....We have that for the least and meanest duties performed by virtue of ministerial power, that to dignify, grace, and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give absolution, or whatever, as disposers of God’s mysteries, our words, judgments, acts, and deeds, are not ours, but the Holy Ghost’s.”—*Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v., lxxvii. 7, 8.

III.

“We believe that this [Catholic] Church is the kingdom, body, and spouse of Christ; that of this kingdom Christ is the sole monarch—of this body, the sole head—of this spouse, the sole bridegroom; that there are various orders of ministers in the Church; that some are deacons, others priests, others bishops, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religious concerns, are entrusted.”—*Bishop Jewel’s Apology*, p. 28, edit. 1829.

IV.

“If man or angel shall challenge to himself this *absolute power* to forgive sin, let him be accursed; yet, withal, it must be yielded, that the blessed Son of God spake not those words of his last commission in vain—‘Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained’ (John xx. 23). Neither were they spoken to the then present apostles only, but, in them, to all their faithful successors to the end of the world. It cannot, therefore, but be granted, that there is some kind of power left in the hand of Christ’s ministers both to remit and retain sin. Neither

is this power given only to the governors of the Church, in respect of the censures to be inflicted or relaxed by them, but to all God's faithful ministers, in relation to the sons of men: a power, not sovereign and absolute, but limited and ministerial; for either quieting the conscience of the penitent, or further aggravating the conscience of sin and terror of judgment to the obstinate and rebellious. Neither is this only by way of a bare verbal declaration (which might proceed from any other lips), but in the way of an operative and effectual application, by virtue of that delegate or missionary authority which is by Christ entrusted with them. For, certainly, our Saviour meant, in these words, to confer somewhat upon his ministers, more than the rest of the world should be capable to receive or perform. The absolution, therefore, of an authorized person, must needs be of greater force and efficacy than of any private man, how learned or holy soever; since it is grounded upon the institution and commission of the Son of God, from which all power and virtue is derived to all his ordinances: and we may well say, that whatsoever is in this case done by God's minister (the key not erring), is ratified in heaven. It cannot, therefore, but be a great comfort and cordial assurance to the penitent soul, to hear the messenger of God (after a careful inquisition into his spiritual state, and true sight of his repentance), in the name of the Lord Jesus, pronouncing to him the full remission of all his sins. And if either the blessing or curse of a father go deeper with us than of any other whatsoever, although proceeding from his own private affection, without any warrant from above, how forcibly should we esteem the (not so much appreciatory as declaratory) benedictions of our spiritual fathers, sent to us out of heaven!"—*Bishop Hall's Cases of Conscience*. The Third Decade, case ix., Works, vol. viii., pp. 446-449. 8vo. edit. 1808. See also *Bishop Andrewes's Sermon* on John xx. 23, fol. edit. 1629, p. 49.

V.

"Behold your armoury!—sword and lightning shaft,
 Culled from the stores of God's all-judging ire,
 And in your wielding left! The words, that waft
 Power to your voice absolving, point with fire
 Your awful curse. O grief! should heaven's dread Sire
 Have stayed, for you, the mercy-dews of old
 Vouchsafed, when pastor's arms in deep desire
 Were spread on high to bless the kneeling fold!
 IF CENSURE SLEEP, WILL ABSOLUTION HOLD?
 Will the great King affirm their acts of grace
 Who careless leave to cankering rust and mould
 The flaming sword that should the unworthy chase
 From His pure Eden? O beware! lest vain
 Their sentence to *remit*, who never dare *retain*."

Lyra Apostolica, Commune Pontificum.

BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

BY THE MOST REVEREND THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In this Sermon is contained the Catholic doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, as “set forth” by Archbishop Cranmer.

OXFORD—*The Feast of the Holy Trinity.*

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, good children, in the fifteenth chapter of John, speaketh these words :—

“ I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch that beareth not fruit in me, he will take away. And every branch that beareth fruit, he will prune, that it may bring forth more fruit. Now are ye clean through the words which I have spoken to you. Dwell in me, and I will dwell in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it grow in the vine, no more can ye, except you abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit. For without me ye can do nothing.”

By these words our Lord Jesus Christ doth teach us very plainly how we be justified and saved before God. For as the branch of a vine bringeth forth no fruit, except it abide in the vine, so we cannot be righteous except we abide in Christ. And as the branch of a vine doth not flourish, nor keep long its sap, but withereth away, and is cast into the fire when it is cut from the vine, even so be we damned, and cannot be saved, when we forsake our master Christ.

Now ye have heard, good children, how by baptism we are so planted in Christ, that by him we have forgiveness of our sins, and are grafted in him as the branch is in the vine. And as the branches have sap and life of the vine, that they may bring forth fruit, so we also (which believe in Christ *and are baptized*) have received of him the Holy Ghost, that we may be justified. And if it chance us to fall from Christ through sin or unbelief, or to be put out of the Christian congregation for our open and manifest sins, yet ye have heard how we are received again into

the bosom of the Church, and joined to Christ's body, by the authority of the keys and absolution. But if we will be justified and saved, it is not enough to be planted in Christ, but we must also abide and continue in him. Wherefore now followeth that doctrine which teacheth us how we ought to order ourselves, that we may still abide and grow in Christ after that we are grafted in him. And this doctrine is contained in the institution and receiving of the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ. For as by baptism we are born again, and as by the authority of the keys and penance we are lifted up again, when we are fallen into sin after baptism, so by the communion of the holy Supper of the Lord we are preserved and strengthened, that we may be able steadfastly to stand and fight against the violent invasions of sin and the power of the devil. Wherefore, good children, forasmuch as ye be already planted in Christ by baptism, learn also, I pray you, how you may continually abide and grow in Christ, the which thing is taught you in the use of the Lord's Supper. Ye shall, therefore, diligently learn the words by the which our Lord Jesus Christ did institute and ordain his Supper, that ye may repeat them word for word, and so print them in your memories, that you may bear them alway with you home to your fathers' houses, and there oftentimes rehearse them. And these be the words of our Saviour Christ :—

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, and, giving thanks, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.

“ Likewise he took the cup also, after he had supped, and, giving thanks, gave it to them, and said, Drink of this, all ye. This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often as ye drink, in remembrance of me.”

Now, ye shall diligently labour, not only to say without book these words of our Saviour Christ, but also to understand what our Lord Jesus Christ meant by the same, that ye may make answer, when ye be asked any question herein, and that also in time to come ye may be able to teach your children as ye yourselves are now instructed. For what greater dishonesty can there be, either in the sight of God or man, than to profess yourselves to be Christian people, and to receive the sacraments, and yet not to know what Christ's sacraments be, and wherefore they were ordained? For St. Paul saith, “that he which eateth and drinketh the Supper of the Lord unworthily, doth eat and drink his own damnation.”

Now, therefore, good children, that ye may truly understand

the words of the Lord's holy Supper, and that ye receive not this sacrament to your own damnation, learn here diligently that the true understanding and use of the Lord's Supper standeth in two things: the first is, to do that which our Lord himself hath commanded; the second is, to believe that which he hath promised. Of these two I will speak in order, whereto, I pray you, give good ear.

First, our Saviour Christ taketh bread in his hand, he giveth thanks, he breaketh it, and giveth it to his disciples, and saith, "Take, eat." Likewise he taketh the cup, and saith, "Take, drink." Wherefore we ought to obey those words, and do that which our Lord commandeth us. For although Christ prescribeth no certain time when we ought to come together to his Supper, although also he appoint no certain number of days, how often in the year we ought to receive this Supper, yet this is his holy and godly will, that at some time we should receive this sacrament. And this to do is for our great commodity [advantage] and profit, for else our Lord would not have commanded us so to do, who knoweth better than we what help and comfort we have need of. Wherefore, if we will be Christ's true disciples, then we must do as he himself commanded his disciples to do. Let us, therefore, go to this godly Supper; let us eat and drink thereof; and let us not abstain from the same without a great cause.

Secondarily, Christ saith of the bread, "This is my body;" and of the cup he saith, "This is my blood." Wherefore we ought to believe, that in the sacrament we receive truly the body and blood of Christ. For God is almighty (as ye heard in the Creed). He is able, therefore, to do all things what he will. And, as St. Paul writeth, "he calleth those things which be not as if they were." Wherefore, when Christ taketh bread, and saith, "Take, eat, this is my body," we ought not to doubt but we eat his very body. And when he taketh the cup, and saith, "Take, drink, this is my blood," we ought to think assuredly that we drink his very blood.* And this we must believe, if we will be counted Christian men.

And whereas in this perilous time certain deceitful persons be found in many places, who, of very frowardness, will not grant that there is the body and blood of Christ, but deny the same, for none other cause but that they cannot compass, by man's blind reason, how this thing should be brought to pass; ye, good children, shall, with all diligence, beware of such persons,

* The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.—*Church Catechism.*

that ye suffer not yourselves to be deceived by them. For such men, surely, are not true Christians, neither as yet have they learned the first article of the Creed, which teacheth that God is almighty, which ye, good children, have already perfectly learned. Wherefore, eschew such erroneous opinions, and believe the words of our Lord Jesus, that you eat and drink his very body and blood, although man's reason cannot comprehend *how and after what manner** the same is there present. For the wisdom of reason must be subdued to the obedience of Christ, as the apostle Paul teacheth.

Thirdly, he saith that his body was given to death for us, and that his blood was shed for us. Wherefore we must believe and confess this thing, that all we are conceived and born in sin, as we have learned in the ten commandments, and chiefly in the two last. We are, therefore, by nature, the children of God's wrath, and should be damned for ever, if Christ had not redeemed us by his holy passion. For he was made man for us, and did all things for us, which we were bound to do, and could not do; that is to say, he fulfilled the law for us, and took upon him all that cross which we most righteously had deserved for our iniquities and offences, and he shed his blood for us, that our sins might be forgiven us. All these things we ought steadfastly to believe. Wherefore they be in a great error which will make satisfaction for their sins with fasting, prayer, alms-deeds, and suchlike good works. For although we are bound to do these good works, yet they be not a sufficient price, ransom, or satisfaction for our sins, but only the death and blood of our Saviour Christ was a sufficient and worthy sacrifice to take away our sins, and to obtain for us forgiveness of our offences, as it is written in the second chapter of St. John, his first epistle. Christ is that sacrifice that pacifieth God's displeasure, and obtaineth pardon for our sins, and not for our sins only, but also for the sins of all the world.

Fourthly, Christ saith, "Do this in remembrance of me." Here, also, it is our duty to obey the word of Christ, and to do the thing which he hath commanded us to do. Wherefore, good children, doubt not but there is the body and blood of our Lord, which we receive in the Lord's Supper. For he hath said so, and by the power of his word hath caused it so to be. Wherefore, seeing Christ saith, "Do this, as often as ye do it, in remembrance of me," it is evident hereby that Christ causeth, even at this time, his body and blood to be in the sacrament after that manner and fashion as it was at that time when he

* See Note.

made his maundy* with his disciples. For else we could not do that thing which his disciples did. But Christ hath commanded us to do the self-same thing that his disciples did, and to do it in the remembrance of him; that is to say, to receive his body and blood, even so as he himself did give it to his disciples. And let not the foolish talk of unbelievers move you, who are wont to ask this question—"How can the priest or minister make the body and blood of Christ?" To the which I answer, that the minister doth not this thing of himself [alone], but Christ himself doth give unto us his flesh and blood, as his words doth evidently declare. Neither let their arguments or reasons persuade you, which say that the sacrament ought not to be received under both kinds, but under one kind only. For Christ gave to his disciples both kinds, and hath bid us that we also should do the same. And when he gave the cup to his disciples, he added thereto this commandment, in these express and plain words, saying, "Drink ye all of this." Now we ought to obey God more than men; we ought, therefore, to receive the sacrament under both kinds, as Christ commanded us, and regard not the gaggling of them that speak against the use of the sacrament under both kinds, saying, "It maketh no great matter whether ye receive it under both kinds, or one alone, and that it pertaineth not the salvation to receive it under both kinds." But what shall I dispute long in this matter? Take this for a conclusion, that it is only laudable and good to do that thing which Christ hath commanded, and not to swerve from the same.

So we ought to receive this blessed sacrament in the remembrance of Christ, as St. Paul saith; that is to say, we ought to preach his death until he come again. For he will surely come again and judge both the quick and the dead, as ye have learned in your Creed. In the mean season we ought to remember and preach his death, that he hath redeemed us with his death and shedding of his most precious blood, and purchased for us forgiveness of our sins. And this we ought ever to have in our remembrance, that in nowise we forget this his exceeding great benefit, and that we seek not for remission of sins by any other ways or means than by faith in Christ.

Now when we preach the death of the Lord, and show that he hath redeemed us thereby, we ought also to call this to our remembrance, that he died not for us only, but for all men that believe in him. And, forasmuch as Christ loved all men so entirely that he died for them, we ought, for Chrst's sake, to

* The Thursday before Good Friday.

love our neighbours, for whom Christ hath died. For Christ saith, "All men shall know by this token that ye be my disciples, if one of you love another." And this is it what St. Paul saith, "All we that be partakers of one bread are one body and one bread."

As often, therefore, good children, as you shall come to the Lord's table (which ye shall use to do when ye shall come to further years of discretion), you shall seek the comfort of your consciences, and do as St. Paul saith in these words, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he that eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." And when ye shall have examined yourselves ye shall find that ye are sinners, and that ye have need that Christ should give his body for you, and shed his blood for you. And this to do is to examine and try yourselves; for St. Paul saith, "If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged of the Lord; but when we are judged of the Lord we are chastised, that we should not be damned with the world." For him that doth not acknowledge his faults God doth judge and chastise with divers afflictions, that at the length he may cause him thereby to confess his faults, and repent him, that his sins may be forgiven him. Ye shall also examine yourselves whether ye be able to do that Christ commanded, and to believe that Christ saith; furthermore, ye shall make an enquiry in your consciences, whether you be glad in your heart to forgive your neighbour his offences against you, and to love him heartily and unfeignedly for Christ's sake.

For when ye do thus, then ye worthily receive the body and blood of Christ. And he that so receiveth it, receiveth everlasting life; for he doth not only with his bodily mouth receive the body and blood of Christ, but he doth also believe the words of Christ, whereby he is assured that Christ's body was given to death for us, and that his blood was shed for us. And he that thus believeth, eateth and drinketh the body and blood of Christ spiritually: of this Christ speaketh when he saith, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him." And when we be planted in Christ, then we may come to his holy Supper as often as we will, that by this ghostly food we may daily, more and more, wax stronger in our faith that Christ was given to be the ransom for our sins, and that he dwelleth in us and we in him. For seeing that we are planted in Christ by baptism, and are bound to grow and increase in him, and be made like unto him, it is not convenient that we should only have a wavering opinion that we dwell in

Christ, and grow in faith and charity, but we must have a sure word and work of God, to the which we may lean in all temptations, and thereby be assured that we do spiritually grow and increase in Christ. And this word and work of God is set before our eyes in the Lord's Supper.

For seeing our Saviour Christ doth give us his body to be our meat, and his blood to be our drink, and thereby doth declare that he will effectually dwell in us, strengthen, and preserve us to everlasting life, we may steadfastly believe that Christ doth work in us, and that he will give us ghostly strength and steadfastness, that we, like green branches, may continue in the vine, and so be full of sap and bring forth good fruit. And this is the meaning and plain understanding of the words of the Lord's Supper. Wherefore learn them diligently, I pray you, that when ye be asked, what is the communion, or the Lord's Supper? ye may answer, it is the true body and true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was ordained by Christ himself to be eaten and drunken of us Christian people, under the form of bread and wine.

Furthermore, if any man will ask ye, where is this written? ye shall answer, these be the words which the holy evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the apostle Paul, do write: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, and, giving thanks, brake it and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me. Likewise he took the cup, after he had supped, and, giving thanks, gave it to them, and said, Drink of this, all ye; this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for you and for many, for the forgiveness of sins: do this, as oft as you drink, in remembrance of me."

Furthermore, if any man ask ye, what availeth it thus to eat and drink? ye shall answer, these words do declare what profit we receive thereby, "my body which is given for you"—"my blood which is shed for you, for the forgiveness of sins." By the which words Christ declareth that by this sacrament and words of promise are given to us remission of sins, life and salvation; for where forgiveness of sin is, there is also life and salvation. Again, if a man will go further with you and ask you, how can bodily eating and drinking have so great strength and operation? ye shall answer, to eat and to drink doth not work so great things, but this word and promise of God, "my body which was given for you"—"my blood which was shed for you, for the remission of sins." This word of God is added to the outward signs, as the chief thing in the sacrament. He that believeth

these words, he hath that thing which the words promise, that is to say, forgiveness of his sins.

Besides this, if a man ask of you, who be they who do worthily receive this sacrament? ye shall answer, that fasting, abstinence, and such other like, are profitable for an outward discipline and chastisement of the body: but he receiveth the sacrament worthily that hath faith to believe these words, "my body which was given for you"—my blood which was shed for you, for the remission of sins." But he that believeth not these words, or doubteth of them, he receiveth the Lord's Supper unworthily. For this word, "given for you," doth require a faithful and believing heart.

So, good children, ye have the true understanding of the words of Christ, and the true use of the holy Supper of the Lord. Learn all these lessons diligently, I pray you, that ye also in time to come may worthily receive this sacrament, and from day to day stick and cleave more steadfastly to the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so continuing in Christ, may bring forth good fruit. And if you do so, then your heavenly Father will purge and prune you (as the husbandman doth the branches of his vine), that ye may daily flourish more and more, and bring forth fruit more plenteously; that God may be glorified by you, and your fruit may abide continually; and so, at the length, ye shall receive life and everlasting salvation and glory, with our Saviour Jesus Christ. To which God grant us all. AMEN.

NOTES.

I.

The following extracts will be found to illustrate the sentiment of Cranmer in the text:—

"Thou oughtest to beware of curious and unprofitable searching into this most profound sacrament, if thou wilt not be plunged in the depth of doubts. He that is a searcher of majesty, shall be oppressed by thy glory. God is able to work more than man can understand. A pious and humble enquiry of truth is tolerable, so it be always ready to be taught, and to endeavour to walk in the sound doctrines of the Fathers. 2. Blessed is that simplicity that forsaketh the difficult ways of questions, and goeth on in the plain and assured path of God's commandments: many have lost devotion whilst they would search after

high things. Faith and a sincere life is required at thy hands, no height of understanding, nor a diving deep into the mysteries of God. If thou dost not understand, nor conceive those things that are under thee, how shalt thou be able to comprehend those that are above thee? Submit thyself to God, and let thy sense be subject to faith; and the light of knowledge shall be given thee in that degree, as shall be profitable and necessary for thee. 4. Go forward, therefore, with a sincere and undoubted faith, and come to the sacrament with unfeigned reverence. And whatsoever thou art not able to comprehend, commit securely to Almighty God. God deceiveth thee not: he is deceived that trusteth too much to himself. God walketh with the simple, revealeth himself to the humble, giveth understanding to the little ones, openeth the sense to the pure minds, and hideth grace from the curious and proud. Human reason is weak, and may be deceived; but true faith cannot be deceived. 5. All reason and natural search ought to follow faith, not to go before it, nor infringe it. For faith and love do here chiefly excel, and work in a sudden manner in this most holy and excellent sacrament. God, who is everlasting and of infinite power, doth great and inscrutable things in heaven and in earth, and there is no searching out of his wonderful works. If the works of God were such as might be easily comprehended by human reason, they were not to be called wonderful and unspeakable.”—*The Imitation of Jesus Christ, by S. Thomas à Kempis, book 4, c. xviii.*

II.

“I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate in silence what we have by the sacrament [of the holy Eucharist], and less to dispute of the *manner how*. ‘This is my body,’ and ‘this is my blood,’ being words of promise, which we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation, the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand; because our participation of Christ in this sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his omnipotent power, which maketh it his body and blood to us—whether with change or without alteration of the element, such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or enquire.”—*Hooker’s Eccl. Pol.*, book v. c. lxvii. 3, 6.

III.

“As to the *manner* of the presence of the body of our Lord in the blessed sacrament, we that are Protestant and Reformed according to the ancient Catholic Church, do not search into the manner of it with perplexing enquiries; but, after the example of the primitive and purest Church of Christ, we leave it to the power and wisdom of our Lord, yielding a full and unfeigned assent to his words. Had the Romish maintainers of transubstantiation done the same, they would not have determined and decreed, and then imposed, as an article of faith absolutely necessary to salvation, a manner of presence, newly by them in-

vented, under pain of the most direful curse, and there would have been in the Church less wrangling, and more peace and unity than now is."—*Bishop Cosin's History of Transubstantiation in Tracts for the Times*, No. 27, p. 2.

IV.

"Whene'er I seek the holy altar's rail,
 And kneel to take the grace there offered me,
 It is no time to task my reason frail
 To try Christ's words, and search how they may be ;
 Enough, I eat his flesh and drink his blood ;
 More is not told—to ask it is not good.

"I will not say with these, that bread and wine
 Have vanished at the consecration prayer ;
 Far less with those deny that aught divine
 And of immortal seed is hidden there.
 Hence, disputants ! the din which ye admire,
 Keeps but ill measure with the Church's choir."

Lyra Apostolica, Life Immortal.

S.

THE GIFTS OF THE HOLY GHOST

IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY THE MOST REV. THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Catechism of 1548 contains three Sermons on the Creed. The first, "Of the Creation," is remarkable for little else than its testimony to the Catholic doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the blessed Eucharist. The substance of the second Sermon, "Of our Redemption," is comprised in Cranmer's well-known Homily of the Salvation of Man. The third Sermon, which is literally reprinted in the following pages, will be found to contain a *summary* of the doctrine of the Archbishop concerning the Church and her institutes; and, when read in connexion with the Sermons on Baptism, the Apostolical Succession, and the Sacrament of the Altar, will faithfully exhibit the great ecclesiastical principles upon which the Reformation was professedly conducted.

CAMBRIDGE—*The Feast of St. Peter the Apostle.*

R.

Now remaineth the third part of the Creed to be declared, which entreateth of our sanctification, how we be made holy. And it is spoken in these words:—

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen."

In the second part of the Creed (which treateth of our redemption and price given for us) you have been taught, good children, to know the Second Person in Trinity, Jesus Christ, what he is, and what he hath done for us; that he was made man for our sakes, that he took upon him our sins, and suffered for us the fear and pangs of death and hell, and had victory over them by his passion and death. And after, by his godly and victorious power, he arose again from death to life. And after this most glorious conquest, he ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and is our Lord, and we his servants, dearly bought. All this you have learned in the

last sermon ;* but now, good children, in this third part of the Creed, you shall learn to know the Third Person in Trinity, the Holy Ghost, and also his benefits and gifts, that we may know what we have received of God after our redemption, whereby we may be made meet to come to everlasting life, through the merits of Christ. For although our Lord Jesus Christ hath redeemed us from the captivity of sin, death, and hell, and hath set us again in the favour of God, yet we should have no knowledge of these great benefits, we should feel in our consciences no comfort, joy, or peace, by the same, if they were not declared unto us by the preaching of God's most holy word. And our consciences should still remain troubled, and the fear of eternal death, and all naughty desires and concupiscences of the frail flesh, should ever remain in us (even as from Adam's time they be in us as soon as we be born); and so we should be utterly unapt to the kingdom of God and life everlasting, if we should still remain as we be born.

For if we will be the heirs of God and everlasting life, we must be born again, and sanctified or made holy, as appertaineth to the children of the most holy God. Now this new birth and sanctification the Holy Ghost worketh in us; and, therefore, he is called the Holy Ghost, because all [every] thing that is sanctified or hallowed, is sanctified or made holy by him. Wherefore when the Holy Ghost is not in man, then it is not possible that he should be holy, although he did all the good works under the sun. And for this cause St. Paul, writing to the Romans, doth call the Holy Ghost the Spirit of sanctification, that is to say, the Spirit that maketh holiness. Learn, therefore, good children, that all we must be made holy and new men by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and that we cannot attain this holiness by our own strength or works, and therefore we must believe in the Holy Ghost, that he will sanctify us at such time and place, and after that sort and manner, as it shall please him. And it is our part to give place to his working, and not to withstand the same. And, therefore, we say in this Creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost." But it is necessary some things here to speak of the manner of sanctification, how and after what manner the Holy Ghost doth hallow us, that we may so prepare ourselves, or rather give place to the Holy Ghost which preventeth us, that he, with his light and almighty strength and power, may work his will in us.

* "Of our Redemption," concerning which see the Advertisement to this Tract.

Now I desire you to mark diligently by what means and fashion the Holy Ghost doth work the sanctification or hallowing in us. After that our Lord Jesus Christ, by his death, passion, and resurrection, had redeemed us, and obtained for us that our sins should be forgiven, and we be made the children of God, shortly after, in the feast of Pentecost, he sent down upon his apostles the Holy Ghost, in the likeness of fiery tongues. The which Holy Ghost gave them wisdom, cunning [skill, knowledge], audacity [confidence], and constancy, to teach boldly this holy Gospel of Christ, that is to say, this Christian faith, whereof we do speak. And where they could not be present themselves, or long abide and continue in their own persons, thither they sent their disciples and other godly and learned men, and to them they gave the Holy Ghost, by laying their hands upon their heads. And this rite or ceremony to ordain preachers and ministers of God's word hath continued in the Church, even from the apostles' time unto this day, and shall endure unto the world's end. For St. Paul saith, "How shall men believe without a preacher? and how shall men preach except they be sent?"* And here you may learn, that this holy Gospel which we preach, and the doctrine of the grace of Christ, taught in the holy Church, cometh not of the will of man, but by the commandment of God, and by the motion of the Holy Ghost, which doth stir up men's minds to publish God's most holy word, and doth work by his secret inspiration in the preachers and ministers of the same. For they were not able so much as to open their mouths to teach so high mysteries and heavenly wisdom, if the Holy Ghost did not move them thereto, and work in them. Neither would the hearers so greatly esteem the preacher's word, and give so good heed unto it, except the Holy Ghost did persuade them that the doctrine of the Gospel were of God, and came from heaven. Now the Holy Ghost worketh by this word on this fashion:—first, he that believeth the Gospel, and receiveth the doctrine of Christ, is made the son of God, as St. John witnesseth in his gospel, saying, "As many as receive him, he hath given them power to be made the children of God." For when we believe in Christ, and are baptized, then we be born again, and are made the children of God.† And when we be his children, then he giveth the Holy Ghost into our hearts; as St. Paul testifieth, writing thus—"Forasmuch as you be now the children of God, therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts,

* See "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," No. II.

† See "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," No. I.

which crieth, Abba, Father.” And when we have received the Holy Ghost, he doth kindle in our hearts true love toward God, as St. Paul writeth in the epistle to the Romans, in the fifth chapter. “The love of God (saith he) is poured abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us.” And where the true love of God reigneth, there are God’s commandments kept, and there beginneth a certain obedience to his will and pleasure.

Furthermore, the Holy Ghost doth slay the flesh and the lusts of the same, and helpeth us to overcome them, that we be not carried away by them, but may continue in cleanness and holiness of life. These be the benefits and works of the Holy Ghost in us. And to the intent you may the more easily bear them away, I will (as briefly as I can) repeat them again unto you.

First of all, the Holy Ghost provoketh and stirreth up men to preach God’s word; then he moveth men’s minds to faith, and calleth them to baptism; and then, by faith and baptism, he worketh so that he maketh us new men again. And when we be thus newly born and made again, and become the children of God, then the Holy Ghost doth dwell in us, and make us holy and godly, that we may be the temples of God, in whom God may dwell and inhabit. Also, this Holy Ghost doth daily more and more increase and establish our faith, that we, like most loving children, may call and embrace our heavenly Father, and hang fast about his neck. The same Holy Ghost doth also assure and warrant us that our sins be forgiven, and that our pardon is signed with God’s seal. He doth also kindle in us a fervent love towards God, and maketh us willing to keep God’s law and commandments, and helpeth us also to fight against sin, and to withstand our ill appetites and desires. Furthermore, with the cross of sickness and divers other kinds of afflictions and adversities, the Holy Ghost doth, as it were, crucify us and mortify us to the world, that we may live to Christ. And this work he worketh continually in us, and ceaseth not until he hath wrought in our hearts a perfect faith and a perfect charity, and until sin and all evil desires be clean at length purged out of us by the death of our bodies; and then we shall be perfect in all holiness, and clean delivered from all sin and adversity, and be heirs of our Father’s kingdom, and his true and most dearly-beloved children.

Wherefore, good children, as heretofore you have been taught that we ought to believe in God the Father, that made us, and in God the Son, that redeemed or bought us, so you must now learn to believe in the Holy Ghost, that hath hallowed us, and

doth continually more and more renew and make holy all those that believe the Gospel. For he that believeth in Jesus Christ, that he is our Lord and our Redeemer, to him God giveth the Holy Ghost, to make him holy and righteous. As St. Paul witnesseth, saying, "No man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." And forasmuch as now it hath been plainly declared unto you after what sort and manner the Holy Ghost doth sanctify us, it is your part not only to imprint this lesson diligently in your minds, but also to desire God, with continual and earnest prayers, that he will vouchsafe more and more to sanctify you. And, as much as lieth in you, apply yourselves to hear godly sermons, and give your hearts to God, like wax, apt and meet to receive what thing soever it shall please him to print in you. For he that is willing and glad to listen to godly sermons, he that is studious to learn the will of God, wherein Christ is preached, and with a steadfast faith cleaveth to the promise of the Gospel, he is made partaker of this sanctification and holiness, and of this so great comfort and everlasting salvation. For God saith, by his prophet Isaiah, "My word shall not return to me in vain." And St. Paul saith that "the Gospel is the power of God, wherewith he worketh the salvation of all them that believe."

Now the rest that followeth in the Creed is a short declaration of these things before rehearsed. For it followeth in the Creed—"I believe in the Holy Catholic Church;" that is to say, all godly and Christian men must believe that the Gospel, or doctrine of God's grace, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, is never in vain published in the world, or sowed abroad without fruit; but ever there is found some company of men, or some congregation of good people, which believe the Gospel, and be saved. And this company of men which believeth the Gospel, although here upon earth they be severed in sundry places, yet are they called one Holy Catholic or Universal Church of Christ; that is to say, a multitude, congregation, or company of Christian people. For this word, Church, doth not here betoken a temple or church builded of timber and stone, but it signifieth a company of men, lightened with the Spirit of Christ, which do receive the Gospel, and come together to hear God's word, and to pray. And this Christian Church is a communion of saints; that is to say, all that be of this communion or company be holy, and be one holy body under Christ, their Head; they be one holy congregation or assembly. And this congregation receiveth of their Head and Lord, Jesus Christ, all spiritual riches and gifts that pertaineth to the sanctification and making holy of the same body. And these

ghostly treasures be common to the whole body, and to every member of the same. For he that is unfeignedly a faithful and godly man is made partaker of these benefits, and these are the said gifts which be come to the holy Church of Christ, and to every member of the same.

The first is, that God the Father (that everlasting and endless Majesty) is our most gentle and merciful Father; that God the Son is our Redeemer and Mediator between the Father and us; and that God the Holy Ghost is the common Sanctifier or Hallower of all them that have a true faith in God. The second is the preaching of the Gospel, the administration of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the which we are made partakers of all the inheritance of heaven, and of all the benefits of Christ. The third is prayer. The fourth is the cross of affliction and adversity, which God sendeth to all godly men to make them to know him, to prove thereby and try their faith, to mortify their flesh, and to make clean the corruption of the same. And here I speak only of the cross which good men suffer: for the afflictions of the unfaithful and ungodly do rather hurt them than make them holy; forasmuch as their impatientness is increased by such adversity, they be brought to more desperation and damnation.

Now it is very good for you to know these things, that you may also know that there is nothing in heaven or earth better for us than is the true knowledge of God, and that these excellent gifts and benefits cannot be had but only in the aforesaid Church or congregation, and nowhere else.* But when the true Church (which is ruled by the Holy Ghost and the word of God) doth promise us these so great riches and benefits, we ought not to doubt but that we have already received them. And when the Church doth appoint and ordain us to be preachers and ministers of these most precious treasures, we must steadfastly believe that God effectuously worketh with us, that he is present with us, and that he at all times doth strengthen us against the world and the devil, and that he doth help us to do all things according to our calling prosperously and with good success. Secondly, we must believe the remission of sins. Therefore next unto this article, "I believe the Holy Catholic Church," is added, "The forgiveness of sins." For wheresoever the Church of Christ is, there is freely offered that eternal comfort above all measure—that is to say, the favour of God and remission of sins. And without that Church is no remission

* See Note I.

of sin. Wherefore we must seek remission of sins in the Church of Christ, and desire absolution, that when the true Church by their ministers doth promise us remission of our sins, and here in earth doth absolve us, we may surely trust that in heaven also before God we be absolved and pardoned.

Thirdly, we must believe the resurrection of the flesh ; wherefore, after the article of the remission of sin, followeth next this article, " I believe the rising again of the flesh." For among other punishments for original sin, laid upon Adam and his posterity, we daily see this horrible pain that the goodly beautiful body of man, created to immortality, must needs once be dissolved by death, and brought to a filthy and stinking corpse and grave ; that the tyranny of sin (which, so long as we live, rageth in the flesh) by our death may cease and have an end ; as St. Paul saith unto the Romans : for by death of the body cease all the desires, concupiscences, and rages of the mind, against the will and commandments of God. There ceaseth, also, all sins against our neighbours, as ire, envy, lechery, covetousness, pride, and all ill affections ; and at the last day God shall raise us again from death, so that such infirmities and sins shall no more be found in us, but we shall be pure, spiritual, and immortal, and like to the bright and clear body of Christ. And that we may the more assuredly believe this, both Christ himself rose from death, and many saints also with him.

Fourthly, we must believe everlasting life. Wherefore it followeth in the Creed, " I believe everlasting life ;" that is to say, I believe that when we shall rise from death, then we shall live ever with Christ in perfect holiness and justice, and in such a glorious joy as no tongue can tell nor heart think. And this treatise of the Creed we must end with this word, " Amen ;" which is as much to say, as I believe that all the articles of our belief, before rehearsed, be very true, and therefore I have a sure faith, trust, and confidence. Therefore, good children, from the bottom of your hearts, you must believe in the Holy Ghost, which doth promise unto us remission of our sins, by all the true preachers and ministers of God's word. And he doth also give light in our hearts and minds, and moveth us to believe God's word, and to put our faith and trust in him. And the same Holy Ghost doth daily purify and sanctify us, purge and cleanse us from sin, and after this bodily death shall raise us again to everlasting life. And take this for a sure conclusion, and doubt nothing thereof, that the Holy Ghost, as he hath begun these things in us, so he will finish the same in us, if we obey him, and continue in faith unto the end of our lives ; for

he that continueth unto the end shall be saved.* And this is the sum, and also the most plain understanding, of this third part of the Creed, entreating of our sanctification or hallowing. Wherefore, good children, mark well this lesson, that when ye be demanded, how understand you the third part of the Creed? ye may answer thus—I believe that neither by man’s strength, power, or wisdom, neither by mine own endeavour, nor compass of mine own reason, I am able to believe in Jesus Christ, or to come unto him. But the Holy Ghost did call me by the word of the Gospel, and with the gifts of his grace he hath hitherto endowed me and hallowed me, and in the true faith he hath hitherto preserved and confirmed me: and this he hath not done only to me, but also he calleth and gathereth together, in the unity of one faith and one baptism, all the universal Church that is here in earth, and he halloweth, keepeth, and preserveth the same in the true knowledge of Christ,† and faith in his promises. And in this Church he giveth free and general pardon to me, and to all that believe in him, of all our sins, offences, and trespasses; and at the last day he shall raise me and all others that be dead; and all that died in the true faith of Jesus Christ he shall glorify in the life everlasting. Therefore, to the said Holy Ghost that sanctifieth us, with the Father that made and created us, and the Son that redeemed us, be given all honour and glory, world without end. AMEN.

NOTES.

I.

“The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, that ‘the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved’ (Acts ii. 47); and what was then daily done, hath been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men’s salvation. ‘There is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved,’ but the name of Jesus (Acts iv. 12); and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the deluge but

* See Note II.

† See Note III.

such as were within the ark of Noah, framed for their reception by the command of God ; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood, by the appointment of God, for their preservation ; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made : so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the Church of God.”—*Bishop Pearson on the Creed*, vol. i. pp. 584, 585, Oxford edit. 1833.

“Whosoever shall hereafter affirm or maintain that there are within this realm, other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king’s born subjects, than such as by the laws of this land are held and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated.”—*Canons of 1603*. XI.

II.

Cranmer was a stranger to the modern heresy of final perseverance. The same may be said of Latimer, whose sentiments on the defectibility of grace are clearly stated in the following extracts from his Sermons :—

“I will you to pray that God will continue his Spirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that if ye have once the Spirit, ye cannot lose it. There be new spirits start up now of late that say, after we have received the Spirit we cannot sin. I will make but one argument : St. Paul had brought the Galatians to the profession of the faith, and left them in that state ; they had received the Spirit once, but they sinned again, as he testifieth of them himself.....If this be true, we may lose the Spirit that we have once possessed. It is a fond thing. I will not tarry in it.”—*Sermons*, edit. 1584, p. 83.

Again—“The right faith abideth not in that man that is disposed purposely to sin ;.....for whosoever purposely sinneth, *contra conscientiam*, against his conscience, he hath lost the Holy Ghost, the remission of sins, and, finally, Christ himself.”—*Ibid.*, p. 169.

Again—“Any act that is done against the law of God, willingly, is a deadly sin. And that man or woman that committeth such an act loseth the Holy Ghost and the remission of sins, and so becometh the child of the devil, being before the child of God. For a regenerate man or woman that believeth ought to have dominion over sin, but as soon as sin hath rule over him, he is gone ; for she leadeth him to delectation of it, and from delectation to consenting, and so from consenting to the act itself. And he that is led so with sin, is in the state of damnation, and sinneth damnably.”—*Ibid.*, p. 226.

III.

The belief in the indefectibility of the Catholic Church in all matters of saving faith was entertained by all the leading Anglican Reformers. Thus Cranmer, on another occasion, writes “that the whole Church cannot make one article of faith, although it may be taken as a *necessary witness* for the receiving and establishing of the same with these three conditions, that the thing which we would establish thereby hath

been believed in all places, ever, and of all men.”—*Answer to Richard Smith, concerning “the Catholic Doctrine of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ,”* p. 459. Fol. 1551.

Again he says—“When all the Fathers agreed in the exposition of any place in Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God; and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceit; therefore he thought Councils ought to found their decisions on the word of God, and those expositions which had been agreed on by the doctors of the Church.”—*Speech on General Councils.* Works, Oxf. 1833. Vol. ii. p. 14.

Again—“Touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to speak, write, or understand anything contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy Catholic Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church. And if anything hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err; but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy Catholic Church, desiring none other thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if anywhere (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

“And I profess, and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the Sacrament and of other my doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things, as the Catholic Church, and most holy Fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words they used, and not any other words; but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the Sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation.”—*Appeal from the Pope to the next General Council.* Works, vol. iv. pp. 126 and 127.

Bishop Ridley says—

“I acknowledge an unspotted Church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without which no man can be saved.....And in that the Church of God is in doubt. I use herein the wise counsel of Vicentius Lirinensis, whom I am sure you will allow; who, giving precepts how the Catholic Church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner:—‘When,’ saith he, ‘one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.’ In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the Primitive Church.”—See *Life*, by *Gloucester Ridley*, pp. 613, 614. 4to. 1763.

Farrar, Hooper, Coverdale, Rowland Taylor, Philpot, and Bradford, in their famous confession, made at Oxford, May 8, 1554, say—

“We confess and believe that the Catholic Church, which is the Spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving Wife, doth embrace

and follow the doctrine of these books [of holy Scripture] in all matters of religion, and, therefore, that she is to be heard accordingly: so that those who will not hear this Church, thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying—‘If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen’.....And we doubt not, by God’s grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confession here to be most true by the verity of God’s word, and consent of the Catholic Church.”—*Ibid*, pp. 525-528.

Philpot also writes—

“As many as abode in the Ark of Noe were not drowned by the flood of Noe, even so many as abide in the true Church of Christ shall receive no hurt by all the blustering and corrupt waters which the dragon, which persecuteth the Church into the wilderness, doth in the Apocalypse cast out after her to the end to drown her therewith. You that stand in doubt of anything by these new found heretics, run to the pure Catholic Church for your sure instruction.”

—*An Apology of John Philpot, &c.*

It appears from the above extracts, that it was in strict conformity with the judgment of the Reformers, that the Convocation of A.D. 1571, which first required the subscription of the clergy to the thirty-nine Articles, ordained:—

“But chiefly they (preachers) shall take heed that they teach nothing in their preaching, which they would have the people religiously to observe and believe, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament and the New, and that which the Catholic Fathers and the ancient Bishops have gathered out of that very doctrine.”—*Liber quorundam Canonum disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. De Concionatoribus.*—*Sparrow’s Collection*, p. 238.

R.

OF SACRAMENTS;

AND CHIEFLY CONCERNING BAPTISM.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN JEWEL, LORD BISHOP OF SARUM.



OF SACRAMENTS;

AND CHIEFLY CONCERNING THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

BY THE REV. ALEX. NOWEL, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the preface to Part I. of these Tracts, we explained, at some length, the object which we had in view in their publication at this time. Something more, however, seems to be required in explanation of the principle of selection by which we propose to be guided ; for it has been said, “ It is to little purpose that you disavow partisanship, while it is apparent that the Tracts selected are just such as do support the views of strict Churchmen only, who, of course, are regarded by the world as a ‘ party.’ Unless you show what the principle is on which the selection is made, opponents may call it anything they please. Let this be plainly professed—then it will be for every one to judge how far it is consistently and fairly followed.”

We had hoped that, at the very outset, we had sufficiently indicated the general principle of our publication, and prevented all just ground of complaint or suspicion, when we stated, that instead of “ selecting ” pieces of our Reformers, or elder divines, just as they might happen to accord, or not, with our own sentiments (which we readily owned that almost any one might do so as to suit himself*), we should endeavour to confine ourselves either to “ authoritative documents,” or “ contemporary publications.” But this declaration, it seems, is not sufficient, and, above all, does not explain how it is that all the Tracts which we reprint bear on the same topics—the Church and the Sacraments—and nothing else.”

Now not to insist, in reply, on the fact that these are the very points in dispute—the very subjects on which we are professedly† here asking the judgment of the Reformers and doctors—we are not unwilling to enlarge a little on this question ; for perhaps there is reason, in the nature of things, for the tendency of the controversies of the day towards this class of sacred topics ; and, in speaking of this, some light will be cast on the principle of “ selection ” which we have adopted.

Not theologians only, but even mere men of the world, now observe, and, according to their peculiar sentiments, speculate on the anomalous condition of our present Christianity. We are evidently in an uncertain, indefinite position. In carrying

* See Preface to Part I., p. 7.

† See Preface to Part I., p. 7.

on the hereditary transmitted strife with an evil world, the Church seems indeed almost hesitating. Of old, "her foundations were on the holy hills;" but now is the question raised, Whether her sons may not safely quit the old mysterious eminences, and, descending to the open plain, meet the world on its own ground? They who among us advise this procedure seem to be doing it on motives of expediency or of popularity. Thus, some shutting their eyes, as they must do, to much which in their hearts they obscurely admit, persuade themselves that the unbelief of the world is to be met by showing that the demand on its belief is not so great, after all, as used to be imagined. Accordingly, the mysteries of the faith are to be represented as on a level, or nearly so, with the ultimate facts of science; or, they may be coldly spoken of as of a doubtful character, or second-rate importance; or (too often), a significant silence is maintained respecting them, which the unbeliever may interpret as he pleases. "Evidences" are anxiously spread out for the satisfaction of the enlightened, and "explanations" are ready, to soothe and conciliate the half-converted: and so, in part, is the way to be smoothed for making Christianity and modern philosophy merge into one another. In close harmony with those who thus think, there are other sorts of conciliators equally willing, according to their modes, to "adapt Christianity to the spirit of the age"—as if the Gospel were now in a transition state—at least, undergoing some process of amendment. What it has been—what it was from the beginning, when received from its divine author, is not thought of, so much as what it may now become. Appeal seems to be made to the present and to the future, but not to the past. Some are defending revealed truth by proving its utility to the politician; others, by showing to the freethinker in religion (who wants something abstracted and flexible), its "elevated and comprehensive spirit." And so, while the effectiveness and importance of a Christian Establishment are the ideas uppermost in the minds of the one class, the sublimity, or purity, or spirituality of Christian principles, are the chief subjects of remark with the other. To take our holy religion as it actually presents itself to us, is certainly not the present fashion. Some abstract modification of it, suitable to modern science, or state policy, or private enlightenment—that is the desideratum. And it seems impossible to avoid thinking that the time is come when those who embrace Christianity in all its ancient fulness, its mysteries and institutes, and not simply its generalized principles, must take their stand on intelligible ground. Others are calculating how much may be safely given up. Let us now look to what we are called on sacredly to

maintain. At a time like this, it is surely not without reason that the controversy has revived respecting the Christian Church and her Sacraments.

And if it be so—that there is that in the aspect of these times which justifies, or perhaps renders inevitable, the revival of this controversy—so, also, there would seem to be, on the other hand, a peculiar fitness in the subject-matter of these questions, to bring into collision the ancient and the modern spirits. On no other matter, perhaps, could we so well place in opposition the confessed “stewards of the manifold mysteries,” acting “in the person of Christ,” and the religious deputies of the people, acting in their own persons. Thus, there is something in the very notion of a sacrament as repugnant to the systems and spirit of the latter, as it is essential to the very existence of the former; and so far, there is an identity of feeling between those who shrink from the primitive and catholic views of divine revelation. The idea of absolutely connecting a visible sign with an invisible grace* thereby conveyed, is regarded by philosophizing divines, even among us, as a superstitious relic of the “old belief in magic,” altogether unworthy of an enlightened age. Others, of a more political and worldly cast, look with undefined dread upon any explicit statement on the matter—unwilling to surrender sacred mysteries, yet fearful of saying what they admit. “Might not state jealousy be awakened by any seeming assimilation to the powerful superstitions of Popery? Or, if not so, if the majesty of a mysterious creed began again to find favour in the world’s eyes, might we not speedily learn that Rome was more than a match for us?” Another class may be specified: those who fear, with more or less distinctness, whether the doctrine of sacraments may not be hostile to “rational,” or else to what are termed “evangelical” views of religion?—and of these there are many varieties, from those who in general terms acknowledge the sacraments as means of grace, down (through the thinly separated shades of believers in “seals,” or “pledges,” or “signs”) to the ultra-spiritualized pure Scripturalists. These gravely question whether “ordinances” be any permanent parts of Christianity? and reject the very name of sacrament (as the Arian does of the Holy Trinity), as not to be found in the Bible. The modern spirit seems to be nearly the same, whether it manifests itself in the philosopher or the fanatic; and perhaps enough has now been said to account for the present tendency of religious controversy—so far, at least, as Churchmen are concerned. The turn which the debate has

* “A means whereby we receive the same.”—See the Catechism.

taken is, on reflection, just such as is likely to ensure the most definite result. Looking from another point of view, the mere facts of the case would bring us to a similar conclusion; for it is undeniable that the opinion which anyman entertains concerning the doctrine of sacraments will give the whole tone and character to his theology; so that nothing can be better than this to be taken as a test, and examined as such. For we see it invariably to happen, that if a man disputes the sacraments of Christ (in whatsoever way he may think fit to do so), he will, throughout his system, entertain, more or less, what are technically called "low" views of Christian truth in general—and *vice versa*. What might have been anticipated by considering the reason of the thing, thus proves true in point of fact.

What has been thus far alleged may, we trust, sufficiently account for the subjects and tone of these Tracts. In illustrating the sacramental doctrine of our Church, we shall be affording a true insight into her whole theology. We would humbly ascribe it to God's mercy that, through all the authoritative revisions of our offices, the ancient Catholic faith has been preserved. In illustrating, as we hope to do, each of those revisions by tracts of the several revisers, bishops, or doctors of our communion, we shall have a special eye to the sacramental offices of the Prayer-book, as affording, in theory and in fact, the key to all the rest. The first revision, under Cranmer, we have already illustrated in Part I. We think that every fair minded man will acknowledge that the Catechismus (from which our first four Tracts are taken) which was set forth by the authority and direct command of the archbishop at the same time as he was revising the Liturgy, is conclusive as to the *animus* of the first English Prayer-book. Let the baptismal office and the first of our Tracts be laid side by side, and no one can doubt the interpretation of either. But it has been said, that the subsequent revisions of the Prayer-book were intended by the Church for the purpose, among others, of removing "the remaining leaven of the old Catholic doctrine." Now, that the Church intended any such thing in any of her revisions, is not only what has never been proved, but is directly contrary to the facts of the case. We do not deny that some individuals, both in the Church and in the State, wished to go the whole length of the Continental Protestants; but God frustrated their designs. On the second revision of the Prayer-book, in King Edward's time, we shall not dwell here, for several reasons. Chiefly because it was never ratified by the convocation of the Church; and was so short a time in use, that its authority in any case could weigh but little, either for good or for evil. It was put forth solely by the authority of Parliament. The

State was, even then, so much more "Protestant" than the Church, that young King Edward, finding the bishops and clergy hostile to *his* "Reform," threatened, if necessary, to interpose his own royal authority to enforce it.* In truth, then, the *second* authoritative revision of our Prayer-book was the Elizabethan, A.D. 1559; and the spirit of this revision, we trust, is shown in this, the Second Part of this series of Tracts, by the "contemporaneous" sentiments of our two great divines of that era—Jewel, the recognized Apologist, and Nowel, the Catechist of our Church.† Once more, we repeat, that with the individual opinions of any, even the greatest, of our divines, we have here nothing to do. We should be altogether unwilling now to profess ourselves disciples of Jewel, any more than we formerly did of Cranmer. On some points, it is too plain that he personally, at one time, inclined to continental Protestantism—but this only makes his testimony the stronger, when we find him declaring so fully the English doctrine concerning the virtue of sacraments. Let any one read page 80 (in the following Tract), and then judge in what spirit the office of baptism was revised in Jewel's days. And the like may be said of the office of the holy Communion, in which the Elizabethan Reformers so pointedly *restored* the words which had been omitted as implying Christ's real presence in the eucharist. "The body of the Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee," &c. Bearing this fact only in mind, let any one peruse page 103 in Tract VI. in the present number—and we think it will be strange if he mistake the spirit of our Church's teaching on this head. We look (we repeat it) to the sacramental services of the Church, not only as most unspeakably important in themselves, but as the touchstones of her whole theology.

In our succeeding numbers we intend to illustrate the other revisions of our Liturgy, under James and Charles, in a similar way. Be it remembered, that the question among Churchmen is simply, what *is* the honest meaning of certain offices, as drawn up by certain divines? Their "contemporaneous," or, if possible, "authoritative," writings, we take to be sure commentaries on their own liturgical works—more especially on points so fundamental and *vital* as those to which only, or chiefly, we call attention. The perusal of them will at any rate cure, in some degree, the ignorance which represents the English doctrine of

* Strype's "Life of Cranmer," vol. i., p. 301, 8vo. 1812.

† Nowel's "Catechism" was authorized by the Convocation of 1562 (see Advertisement to No. VI.), about three years after the revision of the Prayer-book.

the sacraments as the offspring of the times of King Charles II. There cannot be a clearer confession than Nowel gives us (p. 95) of the doctrine which maintains the *inherent* efficacy of the sacraments, which nothing frustrates except a positive obstacle in the receiver. Jewel also implies the same at page 81.

In conclusion, we cannot but think it a hopeful sign of our prospects, that so many persons seem anxious to show (*i. e.*, provided it be done honestly) that the Church's judgment is on their side. We have known a respectable Calvinist to maintain, that his opinions were most rigidly those of the English Church in her Articles, and Homilies, and formularies ! We are glad to see a man anxious to *think with* the Church. He is right in *principle*, and only errs from want of knowledge. Some there certainly are who scarcely seem ingenuous in their professions on this head : they would have misgivings if they owned that the Church was against them, and try, therefore, to show the contrary. Even these, however, seem to be rendering a sort of involuntary homage to the truth, that "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith." Even these, we say, by their anxiety to have the felt weight of the Church's authority for their dogmas, are admitting the very principle which, if righteously applied, would soon bring all our controversies to an end.

OXFORD,

I.

The Feast of the Circumcision, 1839.

P.S. The attention of the reader is particularly directed to the following Letter:—

THE ANGLICAN FATHERS.

SIR,—The editor of a theological magazine of some notoriety has (in this month's number of his miscellany) thought fit to make one or two charges against the editors of the *Tracts of the Anglican Fathers*, which you will, perhaps, permit me (as being one of the parties assailed) to notice in your pages.

Having stated that the Sermons (reprinted from Cranmer's famous "Catechism" of 1548,) contained in Part I. of the Tracts, were not composed by Cranmer, the writer in the magazine goes on to say:—

"The editor of the 'Anglican Fathers' is obliged to admit this in his general preface to Part I.: but he had given no such notification in the separate Sermons published as tracts; nay, he expressly calls them Cranmer's; he says, for instance, 'see Cranmer's Sermon of Baptism;'

and they are stated to be Cranmer's five times in the advertisement upon the cover of our last number."

The impression intended to be conveyed by the above extract is, that the editors of the "Sermons" wish to palm them upon the public as the productions of Cranmer, and merely *admit* that they are not, in a sneaking, underhand way, in the general preface. How far such an impression would be correct, the following observations will show. To begin then with the *last* statement of the magazine-writer (that the Sermons are stated to be Cranmer's five times in the advertisement), it may, perhaps, be sufficient to observe respecting it, that *the advertisement in question was not seen by the editors until after it had been printed and in circulation*; and is no part of the work itself.

With reference to the *second* assertion of the magazine-writer, (that the editors have given no notification that the Sermons are not by Cranmer in the separate ones published as tracts), it may be replied that the editors were particularly careful to state, in the title pages, and in the advertisements appended to *three* of the four Sermons, that each was "*set forth*" (not written) by Cranmer, which is *the* expression employed in the title page of the first edition of the "Catechismus." The reason why they did not say in each Sermon that it was translated merely, and not composed by the Archbishop, simply was, that, as they designed to give the history of the Catechism in the preface to the *Part*, they saw no necessity for the repetition of it in each *number*.

With regard to the *first* statement of the magazine-writer (that the editors are "*obliged to admit*" that the Sermons are not Cranmer's), it will be seen, from the following extract, that so far from wishing to *conceal* this fact, they desired to call particular attention to it. They say, "We are not, in this publication, proposing to give the opinions of any individual Reformers, at any stage of the changes which they certainly passed through. Any one might thus select passages to suit himself. Our inquiry is simply, as to the *authoritative* documents, or *contemporary* publications, which they put forth. We wish to keep as clear as possible from even seeming to rest on the opinion or character of an individual. Viewed in this respect, indeed, it is fortunate that the Sermons now reprinted *were not composed by the Archbishop himself*, but merely translated under his direction (from the Latin of Justus Jonas,) and 'set forth by his authority,' for the special instruction of the people."—*Preface*, pp. vii. viii.

It may here be admitted, that once (and but once, in the note at p. 24, No. II.,) the reader is referred by one of the editors to "Cranmer's Sermon of Baptism," and the magazine-writer is quite welcome to all the uncharitable inferences he can draw from this *oversight*. The suspicious expression was used, I believe, for the sake of brevity, and under the impression that a sermon which had been adopted and "set forth" by Cranmer, might, in a loose and general way, not improperly be styled his.* Thus much concerning the first charge of the magazine-

* And for so thinking, the editor might have had no less an authority than that of the Archbishop himself, who, when speaking of the Cate-

writer. The other which I think it necessary to meet is, that the editors of the Sermons have published them under false titles. I may observe, in reply, that *the original title is given at the head of each Sermon, and immediately after the "Advertisement."* It is true, that in the statement of the *subject matter of each Tract*, the editors followed their own judgment, just as they were guided by it in choosing a running title for their contemplated *series*. It is too absurd to suppose that, in doing so, they wished to deceive anybody, when a reference not merely to the original Catechism, but to the literal reprint of it (lately published at Oxford), and to Legh Richmond's *Fathers*, would have at once exposed their "disingenuous trick of unscrupulous controversialism." They simply wished, in their own titles (which they had no idea could be confounded with Cranmer's), to state the contents of the pages following, in a way which, while it faithfully attained this object, was the most likely to attract attention, and would not have been objected to by the Reformers themselves. The magazine-writer is highly offended that the Sermon "Of the authority of the Keys" is said to be about the "*Apostolical Succession*." Surely, the following extract from the discourse in question states and maintains the above doctrine.

"You shall know that our Lord Jesus Christ, when he began to preach, he did call and choose his twelve apostles; and afterwards, besides those twelve, he sent forth three score and ten disciples, and gave them authority to preach the Gospel.....And after Christ's ascension, the apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister God's word, and chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already, which lacked preachers, and the apostles themselves could no longer abide with them: for the apostles did walk abroad in divers parts of the world, and did study to plant the Gospel in many places. Wherefore where they found godly men, and meet to preach God's word, they laid their hands upon them, and gave them the Holy Ghost, as they themselves received of Christ the same Holy Ghost, to execute this office. And they, that were so ordained, were indeed, and also were called, the ministers of God, as the apostles themselves were, as Paul saith to Timothy. And so the ministration of God's word (which our Lord Jesus Christ himself did first institute), was derived from the apostles unto others after them, by imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the apostles' time to our days. And this was the consecration, orders, and unction of the apostles, whereby they, at the beginning, made bishops and priests, and this shall continue in the Church even to the world's end.....Wherefore, good children, you shall give due reverence and honour to the ministers of the Church. And on the other side, you shall take good heed, and beware of false and privy preachers, which privily creep into cities, and preach in corners, having none authority, nor being called to this office," &c. &c.
—*Anglican Fathers*, No. II. pp. 21-23.

chism which contains the "Sermon of Baptism," calls it "*my book of the Catechism*;" and a few lines under, says, "Not long before I *wrote* the said Catechism."—See his *Answer to Dr. Smith*, as quoted by Legh Richmond, in his *Fathers of the English Church*, vol. iii., p. 319.

The magazine writer denounces the expression, "the blessed sacrament of the altar" (which stands in the *Editors' title page* of the third Sermon "set forth" by Cranmer), as an "incorrigibly popish phrase." That the Editors were right in supposing that neither Cranmer nor his brother Reformers would have scrupled to use it, is, however, clear from the following facts:—

"The sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they [the Reformers] called the sacrament of the altar, as appears plainly by the statute, 1 Edward VI., intituled 'An Act against such as speak unreverently against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called the sacrament of the altar;' for which consult the body of the Act itself. Or, secondly, By Bishop Ridley, one of the chief compilers of the Common Prayer Book, who doth not only call it the sacrament of the altar, affirming, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ, &c., but in his reply to an argument of the Bishop of Lincoln, taken out of St. Cyril, he doth resolve it thus—viz., 'The word altar in Scripture signifieth as well the altar whereon the Jews were wont to offer their burnt sacrifice, as the table of the Lord's Supper; and that St. Cyril meaneth by this word altar, not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord,' &c. *Acts and Mon.* Part III., pp. 492-497. Thirdly, by Bishop Latimer, his fellow martyr, who plainly grants that the Lord's table may be called an altar, and that the Doctors called it so in many places, though there be no propitiatory sacrifice but only Christ.' Part II., p. 85. Fourthly, by several affirmations of John Lambert and John Philpot, two learned and religious men, whereof the one suffered death for religion in the reign of Henry VIII., and the other in the fiery time of Mary; this sacrament being called by both the sacrament of the altar, in their several times; for which consult the Acts and Monuments, commonly called the Book of Martyrs."—*Heylin Cyprianus Anglicus, Pref.*, as quoted by Dr. Hook in the Notes to his valuable *Visitation Sermon*, pp. 156, 157.

To the facts thus collected by Heylin may be added another, namely, that in the first reformed Office-book which was put forth contemporaneously with the *Catechismus*, the Lord's table is frequently, if not always, called the altar.

Your readers, I imagine, will now be able to decide how far the Editors of the *Tracts of the Anglican Fathers* deserve the censure with which they have been attacked in the miscellany in which the above accusations are made. My only fear now is, that its length will exclude this vindication from your excellent Magazine. If you think fit to shorten it by abridging the quotations, &c., you are perfectly at liberty so to do. My design is simply to clear the characters of several clergymen from the aspersions which have been so gratuitously cast upon them; and if this object can be secured by the publication of even a dozen lines only of this communication, the Editors of the Tracts will be perfectly satisfied.

I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

The Feast of All Saints.

R.

P.S. The magazine-writer accuses the Tract Editors with "foppish

egotism," and "too probably downright falsification," because they choose to date the advertisements to their publications on "red-letter-days." Since, however, this charge is made against them, in common with "various [other] writers who have put forth innumerable books, tracts, and letters, thus ecclesiastically dated," they are quite content to share the obloquy of it with their brethren in misfortune.*

* The above letter, owing to the courtesy (for which we take this opportunity of making a public acknowledgment) of the Editor of the "Christian Remembrancer," appeared in the December number of that periodical.

OF SACRAMENTS;

AND CHIEFLY CONCERNING BAPTISM.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN JEWEL, BISHOP OF SARUM.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Tract is reprinted from Bishop Jewel's "Treatise of the Sacraments." It principally illustrates the spirit of our Baptismal Formularies, which were revised and set forth anew at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. Jewel was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, January 21, 1559, and the revised Prayer-book was first used (in the Queen's Chapel), Sunday, May 12, in the same year. M.

CAMBRIDGE.—*The Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude.*

Now I think good to speak of the sacraments of the Church, that all you may know what they are, because you are all partakers of the holy sacraments. Christ hath ordained them, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm the faith which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts. As princes' seals confirm and warrant their deeds and charters, so do the Sacraments witness unto our conscience that God's promises are true, and shall continue for ever. Thus doth God make known his secret purpose to his Church:—first, he declareth his mercy by his word; then he sealeth it, and assureth it by his sacraments. In the word we have His promises—in the sacraments *we see* them.

It would require a long time, if I should utter that [which] might be said in this matter, especially in laying open such errors and abuses as have crept into the Church. But I will have regard to this place, and so frame my speech, that the meanest and simplest may reap profit thereby.

That you may the better remember it, I will keep this order. I will show you what a sacrament is; secondly, who hath ordained them; thirdly, wherefore they were ordained, and what they work in us; fourthly, how many there are; and then I will briefly speak of every [one] of them.

A sacrament is an outward and visible sign whereby God

sealeth up his grace in our hearts, to the confirmation of our faith. St. Augustine saith, "A sacrament is a visible sign of grace invisible."* And that we may better understand him, he telleth us what thing we should call a sign. "A sign is a thing that, besides the sight itself which it offereth to the senses, causeth of itself some other certain thing to come to knowledge."

In baptism, the water is the sign, and the thing signified is the grace of God. We see the water, but the grace of God is invisible; we cannot see it. Moreover he saith, "Signs, when they be applied to godly things, be called sacraments."† The signification and the substance of the sacrament is to show us how we are washed with the passion of Christ, and how we are ed with the body of Christ. And again: "If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments."‡ And because of this likeness which they have with the things they represent, they be oftentimes termed by the names of the things themselves. Therefore, after a certain manner of speech (and not otherwise), the sacrament of the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is faith.

Who hath ordained the sacraments? Not any prelate, not any prince, not any angel or archangel, but only God himself. For He only hath authority to seal the charter, in whose authority only it is to grant it; and only He giveth the pledge, and confirmeth his grace in us, which giveth his grace into our hearts.

[S.] Chrysostom saith, "The mystery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou shouldest put any thing to it."|| In the days of Noah, when God determined to be merciful unto his people, and never to drown the whole world with water, he said, "I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a sign of the covenant between me and the earth; and when I shall cover the earth with a cloud, and the bow shall be seen in the cloud, then will I remember my covenant which is between me and you, and between every living thing in the flesh, and there shall be no more waters of a flood to destroy all flesh."§ In like manner, when God would witness and stablish to Abraham, and his seed after him, the promise of his mercy, He himself ordained a sacrament to confirm the same: "This is my covenant, which ye shall

* De doctrinâ Christianâ. l. ii. c. i.

† "Ad Marcellinum," Epist. v. ‡ "Ad Bonifacium," Epist. xxiii.

|| Hom. vii. in 1 Corin. § Gen. ix.

keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee : let every man-child among you be circumcised." * Thus God ordained the sacrament of circumcision. This sacrament was a seal of God's promise to Abraham, and a seal of Abraham's faith and obedience towards God. By this sacrament man was bound to the Lord, and by the same sacrament God vouchsafed to bind himself to man. But how is the sacrament formed? of what parts is it made?

[S.] Augustine saith, "Join the word of Christ's institution with the sensible creature, and thereof is made a sacrament." † Join the word to the creature of water, and thereof is made the sacrament of baptism : take away the word, then what is the water other than water? The word of God and the creature make a sacrament. But why were sacraments ordained? He telleth you, "Men cannot be gathered together to the profession of any religion, whether it be true or false, unless they be found in the fellowship of visible signs of sacraments." ‡

The first cause why they were ordained is, that thereby one should acknowledge another, as fellows of one household, and members of one body. So was all Israel reckoned the children of Abraham, because of their circumcision, and all such as were uncircumcised were cut off from the people, and had no part in the commonwealth of Israel, because they were uncircumcised ; even as we take them that are not baptized, to be none of our brethren, to be no children of God, nor members of his Church, because they will not take the sacrament of baptism.

Another cause is, to move, instruct, and teach our dull and heavy hearts, by sensible creatures, that so our negligence in not heeding or marking the word of God spoken unto us, might be amended. For if any man have the outward seal, and have not the faith thereof sealed within his heart, it availeth him not ; he is but an hypocrite and dissembler. So the circumcision of the foreskin of the flesh taught them to mortify their fleshly affections, and to cut off the thoughts and devices of their wicked hearts. Therefore, said [S.] Stephen to the Jews, "Ye stiffnecked, and of uncircumcised hearts and ears, you have always resisted the Holy Ghost." ||

So, when in baptism our bodies are washed with water, we are taught that our souls are washed in the blood of Christ. The outward washing or sprinkling doth represent the sprinkling and washing which is wrought within us : the water doth

* Gen. xvii.

† Lit. xix. Cont. Faust. c. xi.

‡ Tract lxxx. in John xiii.

|| Acts vii.

signify the blood of Christ. If we were nothing else but soul, he would give us his grace barely and alone, without joining it to any creature, as he doth to his angels; but seeing our spirit is drowned in our body, and our flesh doth make our understanding dull, therefore we receive his grace by sensible things.

[S.] Chrysostom saith, "I am otherwise affected than is he which believeth not. When he heareth of the water of baptism, he thinketh it is nothing else but water; but I see (not the creature only which my eyes do see, but also) the cleansing of my soul by the Holy Ghost. He thinketh that my body only is washed. I believe that my soul is thereby made pure and holy; and withal, I consider Christ's burial, his resurrection, our sanctification, righteousness, redemption, adoption, our inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, and the fulness of the spirit." * For I judge not of the things I see by my eyes, but by the eyes of my mind.

When one that is unlearned, and cannot read, looketh upon a book, be the book never so true, never so well written, yet, because he knoweth not the letters, and cannot read, he looketh upon it in vain. He may turn over all the leaves, and look upon all, and see nothing; but another that can read, and hath judgment to understand, considereth the whole story, the doughty deeds, grave counsels, discreet answers, examples, promises, the very drift and meaning of him that wrote it. So do the faithful receive the fruit and comfort by the sacraments, which the wicked and ungodly neither consider nor receive. Thus do the sacraments lead us and instruct us to behold the secret and unknown mercies of God, and to carry ourselves to the obedience of his will. And this is the other cause why sacraments were ordained.

Thirdly, they are seals or confirmations of God's promise. St. Paul saith, "Abraham received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had when he was uncircumcised." † By these we stop the mouth of heretics: for if they deny that our Lord Jesus Christ was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification, we show them our sacraments, that they were ordained to put us in remembrance of Christ, and that by the use of them we show the Lord's death till he come. We tell them these are proofs and signs that Christ suffered death for us on the cross. As [S.] Chrysostom saith, "Laying out these mysteries we stop their mouths." ‡

* Hom. vii. in 1 Cor. † Rom. iv. ‡ In Mat. Hom. lxxxiii.

What? are they nothing else but bare and naked signs? God forbid. They are the seals of God; heavenly tokens and signs of the grace, and righteousness, and mercy, given and imputed to us. Circumcision was not a bare sign: "That is not circumcision which is outward in the flesh," saith [S.] Paul, "but the circumcision of the heart."* And again, "In Christ ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ."† Even so is baptism not any bare sign.

Saith [S.] Chrysostom, "Christ's baptism in Christ's passion."‡ They are not bare signs, it were blasphemy so to say.

The grace of God doth always work with his sacraments; but we are taught not to seek the grace in the sign, but to assure ourselves by receiving the sign, that it is given us by the thing signified. We are not washed from our sins by the water, we are not fed to eternal life by the bread and wine, but by the precious blood of our Saviour Christ, that lieth hid in these sacraments.

[S.] Bernard saith, "The fashion is to deliver a ring when seizin and possession of inheritance is given; the ring is a sign of the possession; so that he which takes it may say, the ring is nothing, I care not for it—it is the inheritance which I sought for. In like manner, when Christ our Lord drew nigh to his passion, he thought good to give seizin and possession of his grace to his disciples, and that they might receive his invisible grace by some visible sign."||

[S.] Chrysostom saith, "Plain or bare water worketh not in us; but when it hath received the grace of the Holy Ghost, it washeth away all our sins."§ So saith [S.] Ambrose also: "The Holy Ghost cometh down and halloweth the water." And, "There is the presence of the Trinity."¶ So saith [S.] Cyril: "As water, thoroughly heated with fire, burneth as well as the fire, so the waters that wash the body of him that is baptized are changed into divine power by the working of the Holy Ghost."** So saith [S.] Leo, sometime Bishop of Rome, "Christ hath given like pre-eminence to the water of baptism, as he gave to his mother; for that power of the highest and that overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which brought to pass that Mary should bring forth a Saviour of the world, hath also brought to pass that the water should bear anew, or regenerate him that believeth."††

* Rom. ii.

† Coloss. ii.

‡ Ad Hebr. Hom. xvi.

|| Sermon de Cœna Domini.

§ Hom. xxxv. in Johan.

¶ De Sac. l. i. c. v. ** In Johan. l. ii. c. xiii. †† Sermon. v. de Nat Domini

Such opinion had the ancient learned Fathers, and such reverend words they used when they entreated of the sacraments. For it is not man but God which worketh by them ; yet is it not the creature of bread or water, but the soul of man that receiveth the grace of God. These corruptible creatures need it not, we have need of God's grace.

But this is a phrase of speaking. For the power of God, the grace of God, the presence of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the gift of God, are not in the water, but in us. And we were not made because of the sacraments, but the sacraments were ordained for our sake.

Now for the number of sacraments. How many there be, it may seem somewhat hard to say, and that it cannot be spoken without offence ; for men's judgments herein have swerved very much. Some have said there are two, others three, others four, and others that there are seven sacraments. This difference of opinions standeth rather in terms than in the matter.*

The sacraments instituted by Christ are only two : the sacraments of Baptism and of our Lord's Supper, as the ancient learned Fathers have made account of them. St. Ambrose having occasion of purpose to entreat of the sacraments, speaketh but of two : saith he, "I begin to speak of the sacraments which you have received." And yet in his whole treatise, divided into six books, he writeth but two. His book is extant : if any man doubt this, he may see it. St. Augustine reckoneth them to be but two : "these be the two sacraments of the Church."† Again, he saith, "Our Lord and his apostles have delivered unto us a few sacraments, instead of many ; and the same in doing most easy, in signification most excellent, in observation most reverend, as is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord."‡ Thus [SS.] Augustine and Ambrose, unto whom I might also join other ancient Fathers, reckon but two sacraments. Let no man, then, be offended with us for so doing ; we do no new thing, but restore the ordinance of Christ, and keep the example of the holy Fathers.§

* See "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," No. I., p. 5. Note. Our not having further guarded and explained the statement "set forth" by Cranmer, in Tract I., respecting the right number of the sacraments, has, we regret to find, given offence to some. We trust it may be removed by Bishop Jewel's remarks, which make it clear how very much we may overrate in importance, what, in one sense, seemed to the Reformers almost a verbal question.

† De Symb. ad Catechumen.

‡ De Doct. Christi. l. iii., c. 9.

§ [See Note I.

What then? Do we refuse confirmation, penance, orders, and matrimony? Is there no use of these among us? Do we not allow them? Yes. For we do confirm, and teach repentance, and minister holy orders, and account matrimony and so use it as an honourable state of life. We visit the sick among us, and anoint them with the precious oil of the mercy of God. But we call not these sacraments, because they have not the like institution. Confirmation was not ordained by Christ. Penance hath not any outward element joined to the word: the same may be said of orders. And matrimony was not first instituted by Christ, but God ordained it in paradise long before. But in these two we have both the element and the institution. In baptism the element is water; in the Lord's Supper bread and wine.

Baptism hath the word of institution, "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."* The Lord's Supper, in like manner, hath the word of institution, "Do this in remembrance of me."† Therefore, these two are properly and truly called the sacraments of the Church, because in them the element is joined to the word, and they take their ordinance of Christ, and be visible signs of invisible grace.

Now, whatsoever lacketh either of these, it is no sacrament. Therefore, are not the other five which are so reckoned, and make up the number of seven, in due signification and right meaning, taken for sacraments; for in such sort as these are called sacraments—that is, because they signify some holy thing, we shall find a great number of things which the godly learned Fathers have called sacraments; and yet, I trow, we must not hold them as sacraments ordained to be kept and continued in the Church: for then there should not be seven, but seventeen sacraments.

St. Bernard calleth the washing of the apostles' feet a sacrament: "The washing of feet is the sacrament of daily sins."‡ So [S.] Leo calleth the cross of Christ a sacrament: "The cross of Christ, which was given to save the faithful, is both a sacrament and also an example."§ Tertullian called the whole state of Christian faith, "The sacrament of Christian religion."|| St. Hilary, in divers places saith, "The sacrament of prayer, the sacrament of fasting, the sacrament of thirst, the sacrament of weeping, the sacrament of the Scriptures." Thus much for the number, that by the institution of Christ there are but

* Matt. xxviii.

† Luke xxii.

‡ Serm. de Cœna Domini.

§ De Resur. S. ii.

|| Cont. Marcion, l. iv.

two sacraments, as Cardinal Bessarion confesseth: "We read that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the Gospel." *

I will now speak briefly of the sacraments in several, and leave all idle and vain questions, and only lay open so much as is needful and profitable for you to know. Baptism, therefore, is our regeneration or new birth, whereby we are born anew in Christ, and are made the sons of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven: it is the sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ.

We are all born the children of wrath, and have our part in the offence of Adam. St. Paul saith, "By one man sin entered into the world." † [S.] Augustine saith, "Christ said not, it shall come upon him, but, it abideth on him. He had regard to our offspring when he saith, 'the wrath of God abideth on him;' upon which, when the apostle also looked, he said, 'And we ourselves, also, were sometimes the children of wrath.' That which in Adam was imputed to his offence, and not to be of nature, is now in us (which are come of Adam), become natural." ‡ "Therefore (saith the prophet), behold I was born in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me." § So that we all have cause to cry out and moan with St. Paul, "I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto sin, which is in my members. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" ||

Hereof speaketh our Saviour, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit." And for this cause, saith he, "Except a man be born of the water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." ¶

For this cause are infants baptized, because they are born in sin, and cannot become spiritual, but by this new birth of the water and the Spirit. They are the heirs of the promise; the covenant of God's favour is made unto them. God said to Abraham, "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God unto thee, and unto thy seed after thee."** "Therefore (saith the apostle), if the root be holy, so are the branches." †† And again: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now are they

* De Sacr. Euchar.

† Romans v.

‡ De Verbis Apostol. S. xiv.

§ Psalm li.

|| Romans vii.

¶ John iii.

** Gen. xvii.

†† Rom. xi.

holy.”* When the disciples rebuked those that brought little children to Christ, that he might touch them, he said, “Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.”† And again, “Their angels always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.”‡ The kingdom of heaven is of such, saith Christ, not only then of those, but of other like infants, which shall be in all times.

As God took the seed of Abraham to be partakers of the covenant which he gave to Abraham, so he appointed that every man-child of eight days old should be circumcised. And “Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him.”§ May we think that the promise of God hath an end, so that it reached not to our children? or might the children of the Jews receive the sign of the covenant, and may not the children of the Christians?

Whatsoever was promised to Abraham, the same is also performed unto us. We enjoy the same blessings and free privilege of God’s favour. St. Paul, to the Galatians, saith, “Know ye that they which are of faith are the children of Abraham?” Again, “If ye be Christ, then ye are Abraham’s seed, and heirs by promise.”||

Now is the sign of the covenant also changed, and baptism is instead of circumcision, as St. Paul declareth, and calleth them circumcised which are baptized. “In whom (meaning Christ) also ye are circumcised, with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ, in that ye are buried with him through baptism.”¶

Our Saviour giveth charge to his apostles to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The apostles baptized not only such as professed their belief, but whole households. “The keeper of the prison was baptized, with all that belonged unto him.”** So was Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and his household, and the household of Stephanus.

Infants are a part of the Church of God; they are the sheep of Christ, and belong to his flock. Why should they not bear the mark of Christ? They have the promise of salvation; why should they not receive the seal, whereby it is confirmed unto them? They are of the fellowship of the faithful.

[S.] Augustine saith, “Where place you young children, which are not yet baptized? Verily, in the number of them that be-

* 1 Cor. vii.

† Mark x.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Genesis xxii.

|| Gal. iii.

¶ Colos. ii.

** Acts xvi.

lieve.”* Why, then, should they not be partakers of the sacrament together with the faithful ?

And as the children of the faithful by right ought to be baptized, so such others also as were born of unbelieving parents, and were aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and were strangers from the covenant of promise, and had no hope, if they acknowledge the error in which they lived, and seek the forgiveness of their former sins, may well receive this sacrament of their regeneration.

So when they which heard [S.] Peter were pricked in their hearts, and said to [S.] Peter and the other apostles, “Men and brethren, what shall we do?” [S.] Peter said unto them, “Amend your lives, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.”† They were buried with Christ by baptism into his death, and made partakers of his blood, and continued in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship.

Christ, saith the apostle, “loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, by the washing of water through the word.”‡ Again: “According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.”§ For this cause is baptism called salvation, life, regeneration, and forgiveness of sins, the power of God to resurrection, the image and pledge of the resurrection, and the weed of immortality.

And yet are not these things wrought by the water, for then what need had we of Christ?—what good did his passion?—what doth the Holy Ghost work in our hearts?—what power of force is left to the word of God?

[S.] Augustine saith, “Why doth not Christ say, now ye are clean, because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; saving that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean? Take away the word, and what is water more than water?”|| It is the covenant, and promise, and mercy of God, which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, by which we receive regeneration, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation.

His word declareth his love towards us, and that word is sealed and made good by baptism. Our faith, which are baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we have made, establish in us the grace which we receive. And it is said, “true baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body, as in the faith of the heart.”

* De Verbis Apost. S. i. † Acts ii. ‡ Eph. v. § Titus iii.
|| Tract lxxx. in John.

As the doctrine of the apostles hath taught us, saying, "By faith purifying their hearts."* And in another place, "Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ."† Therefore [S.] Jerome saith, "They that receive not baptism with perfect faith, receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not."‡

The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul; but "the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, doth cleanse us from all sin."§ Not the water, but the blood of Christ, reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in Christ alone, and not in any outward thing.

Hereof, saith [S.] Cyprian, "The remission of sins, whether it be given by baptism or by any other sacraments, do properly appertain to the Holy Ghost. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priest by the institution of the apostles work the visible outward sacrament. But touching the substance thereof, it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it."|| [S.] Ambrose also saith, "Thou hast seen the water, thou hast seen the priest, thou hast seen those things which thou mightest see with the eyes of thy body, and with such sight as man hath; but those things which work and do the deed of salvation, which no eye can see, thou hast not seen."¶

Such a change is made in the sacrament of baptism; through the power of God's working, the water is turned into blood; they that be washed in it receive the remission of sins; their robes are made clean in the blood of the Lamb. The water itself is nothing but by the working of God's Spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ are thereby assured unto us.

A figure was given at the Red Sea. The children of Israel passed through in safety, but Pharaoh and his whole army were drowned. Another figure hereof was given in the ark. The whole world was drowned, but Noah and his family were saved alive; even so in the fountain of baptism, our spiritual Pharaoh, the devil, is choked—his army, that is, our sins, are drowned, and we saved.

The wicked of the world are swallowed in concupiscence and vanities, and we abide safe in the ark. God hath chosen us to

* Acts xv. † 1 Peter iii. ‡ In Ezek. ca. xvi. § 1 John i.
 || De Baptis. Christi. ¶ De Sac., lib. i., c. iii.

be a peculiar people to himself; we walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, therefore we are in Christ Jesus, and there is now no condemnation unto us.

Now, touching the minister of this sacrament, whether he be a good man or an evil man, godly or godless, an heretic or a Catholic, an idolator or a true worshipper of God, the effect is all one;* the value or the worthiness of the sacrament dependeth not of man, but of God. Man pronounceth the word, but God setteth our hearts with grace; man toucheth or washeth us with water, but God maketh us clean by the cross of Christ. It is not the minister, but Christ himself, which is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.

Again, whether the infant be signed with the sign of the cross, or be put into the water once or thrice: whether one, or two, or three, or more, be godfathers or witnesses of the baptism, it maketh nothing to the virtue of the sacrament; they are no part thereof; without these, baptism is whole and perfect.†

Hereof [S.] Gregory saith, "The faith being one, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing."‡ Christ left no order for the use of these things, neither did, by his word or example, require them. The Church of God hath liberty to dispose herein as may be most fitting for decency and godliness.

Some make doubt of those infants, the children of the faithful, which depart before baptism, whether they be saved or not. What! shall we say that they are damned? It is a hard matter, and too curious for man to enter into the judgments of God; his mercy is infinite, and his purpose secret. He showeth mercy upon those whom he will have mercy. Who can appoint him, or set him an order what he shall do? It is not good, nor standeth with Christian reverence, to be contentious and busy in searching out, or reasoning of matters which the wisdom of God hath hid from our knowledge. Yet if any would fain be resolved, he may thus safely reason: it is true that children are born in sin, and that by the sin of one man death hath entered into the world, and that the reward of sin is death; but who knoweth if God hath forgiven them their sin? Who is his counsellor; who knoweth his meaning? Our children are the children of God; he is our God and the God of our seed; they be under the covenant with us. The soberest

* See Note II.

† Let this be well weighed by those who suppose the faith of the sponsors to be, in our Church's judgment, necessary to the validity of baptism.

‡ L. i. Epist. xli.

way is to speak least, and to leave them to the judgment and mercy of God.

Howbeit, if any should despise, and of wilfulness refuse this holy ordinance, so that they would in no case be baptized, nor suffer their children to be baptized, that were damnable; otherwise the grace of God is not tied so to the ministration of the sacrament, that if any be prevented by death, so that he cannot be received to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned. For many have suffered death for God's cause, for their faith in Christ, who never were baptized; yet are they reckoned, and are indeed, blessed martyrs. So Valentinianus, a Christian emperor, died without baptism; yet doth [S.] Ambrose commend him, and nothing doubteth but that he is saved. He saith, "I have heard that you are grieved because he took not the sacrament of Baptism. Tell me, what other thing is there in us, but our will and our desire?"* Again: "he which was endued with thy Spirit, O God, how might it be that he should be void of thy grace? or, if this move you, because the mysteries were not solemnly ministered, are not the martyrs crowned if they be only novices (that be not yet christened)? But if they be washed in their blood, then is he also washed in his godliness and in his desire." [S.] Augustine saith, "He is not deprived from the partaking and benefit of the sacrament, so long as he findeth in himself that thing that the sacrament signifieth."†

Constantinus the Great was the first Christian emperor, yet was he not baptized until the time of his death; "who when he was at Nicomedia (saith Theodoretus) being grievously sick, and knowing the uncertainty of this life, was baptized."‡ The thief upon the cross was not baptized; yet Christ said unto him, This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. The Prophet Jeremiah and John Baptist were sanctified in their mothers' wombs.

By these few it may appear, that the sacrament maketh not a Christian, but is a seal and assurance unto all that receive it of the grace of God, unless they make themselves unworthy thereof, and that no man may despise this holy ordinance, and keep back his infants from baptism, for in so doing he procureth his own damnation. In time of ignorance, many would see this and acknowledge it, that the outward baptism by water was not [so] necessary to salvation, so that the children of others that died without it were, for lack thereof, damned.

* Orat. de obit. Val. See Note III. † In Serm. ad infantes.

‡ Hist. tripart, l. iii. c. xii.

The Church hath always received three sorts of baptism—the baptism of the Spirit, or of blood, or of water.* If any were prevented by death, or hindered by cruelty or persecution, so that they could not receive the sacrament of baptism at the hands of the minister, yet having the sanctification of the Holy Ghost, or making their faith known by their suffering, they were born anew, and baptized.

God hath his purpose in us and our children. Before we were born, when we had done neither good nor evil, he had mercy and compassion on us. Judgment appertaineth unto God ; he knoweth who are his. No man knoweth the things of God but the Spirit of God only.

And thus much of the sacrament of baptism, which is the badge and cognizance of every Christian. If any be not baptized, but lacketh the mark of God's fold, we cannot discern him to be one of the flock. If any take not the seal of regeneration, we cannot say he is born the child of God.

This is the ordinary way ; let us use it, let us not despise nor be slow to receive the sacraments ; they are the means by which God maketh sure his goodwill towards us.

NOTES.

I.

JEWEL, like the elder Anglican Reformers, paid great deference to the writings of the "ancient learned Fathers." More than one example of this occurs in the preceding tract, and he expresses himself with yet greater clearness in some of his works. Thus, in his famous "Apology of the Church of England," c. vi. § 15, he writes—"We [the Anglican Church] have only departed from that Church which may err, which Christ, who cannot err, so long since foretold should err, and which we see clearly with our eyes has departed from the holy Fathers, the apostles, Christ himself, and the primitive and Catholic Church. And we have approached, as much as possibly we could, the Church of the apostles, and ancient Catholic Bishops and Fathers, which we know was yet a perfect, and, as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with any idolatry, or great and public error. Neither have we only reformed the doctrine of our Church, and made it like theirs in all things, but we have also brought the celebration of

* See Note III.

the sacraments, and the forms of our public rites and prayers, to an exact resemblance to their institutions and customs."

Again, in answer to Harding, Jewel observes, "These be cases, not of wit, but of faith; not of eloquence, but of truth; not invented or devised by us, but from the apostles, and holy Fathers, and founders of the Church, by long succession brought unto us. We are not the devisers thereof, but only the keepers; not the masters, but the scholars. Touching the substance of religion, we believe that [which] the ancient Catholic learned Fathers believed; we do that they did, we say that they said. And marvel not, in what side soever ye see them, if you see us join in the same. It is our great comfort that we see our faith and their faith to agree in one."—*Reply.—Answer to M. Harding's conclusion, ad fin.*

II.

The holy Catholic Church has never authoritatively declared her judgment on the validity of lay baptism. In our own Church its validity has been defended by Hooker, book v., 62, &c., and by Bingham, in his "Scholastic History of Lay Baptism;" Jeremy Taylor and Waterland have ably maintained the contrary. It is plain, from the letters and other writings of our first Reformers, that they allowed lay persons to baptize, *in case of necessity*, and accordingly, the rubric in the Prayer Books of Edward VI. and Elizabeth directed—"First, let them that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer; and then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, &c." But in the year 1575, the archbishops and bishops (who had power and authority in their several dioceses to resolve all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in the Book of Common Prayer,) unanimously resolved that even private baptism, in case of necessity, was only to be administered by a lawful minister or deacon, and that other persons should be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministering of baptism privately, as being no part of their vocation. This decision was agreed, settled, and subscribed to by both houses of Convocation. Upon the accession of James I. the question of lay baptism was again debated in the Hampton Court Conference, and the result was, that instead of those words "let them that be present call upon God," &c., the rubric should be, "let the lawful minister and them that be present," &c. And instead of what follows, viz., "Then one of them shall name the child," &c., it was ordered that, "the child being named by some one that is present, the said lawful minister shall dip it in the water," &c. And thus the rubric remained till the review at the Restoration, when it only underwent some small variation, the minister of the parish being first named as the most proper person to be sent for, if not out of the way; but in his absence any other lawful minister is to be called in that can be procured. The Church only provides that none but a minister, or one duly ordained, presume to baptize, well knowing that the persons by whom baptism is to be administered are plainly as positive a part of the institution as anything else relating to that sacrament; and consequently, that the power of administering

it must belong to those only whom Christ hath authorized by the institution.

The foregoing facts and observations will be found stated, somewhat more at large, in "Wheatley's Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer," pp. 372-375., 8vo. Edit. London. 1825. That learned author closes his remarks as follows: "If (says he) it be asked whether baptism, when performed by an unordained person, be, in the sense of our Church, valid and effectual? I answer, that, according to the best judgment we can form from her public acts and offices, it is not. For she not only supposes (canon lxix.) that a child will die unbaptized if the regular minister does not come time enough to baptize it, but in the above said determination of the bishops and convocation, she expressly declares that, even in cases of necessity, baptism is only to be administered by a lawful minister or deacon, and directly inhibits all other persons from intermeddling with it, though ever so privately, as being no part of their vocation; a plain intimation that no baptism, but what is administered by persons duly ordained, is valid or effectual; for if baptism administered by persons not ordained be valid and sufficient to convey the benefits of it, why should such persons be prohibited to administer it in cases of real necessity, when a regular minister cannot be produced? It would surely be better for the child to have it from any hand, if any hand could give it, than that it should die without the advantage of it. Our Church, therefore, by prohibiting all from intermeddling in baptism but a lawful minister, plainly hints, that when baptism is administered by any others, it conveys no benefit or advantage to the child, but only brings upon those who pretend to administer it, the guilt of usurping a sacred office, and, consequently, that persons so pretendedly baptized (if they live to be sensible of their state and condition), are to apply to their lawful minister or bishop for that holy sacrament of which they only received a profanation before."

Thus Wheatly. The Editors of these Tracts do not wish to give their opinion on the above question. They may, however, observe that when they have been requested to baptize persons who had before received Dissenting or lay baptism, they have made use of the hypothetical form as appointed in the Prayer-book, *i. e.*, "If thou art not already baptized, N., I baptize thee," &c.

III.

There is a large sense in which every baptized man is included in the Catholic Church, and may be, according to his measure, partaker of her privileges, though he may not trace the grace to its true source, but may mistake the hand that blesses him.* And the wideness of the

* That is, many who have departed and joined the sects insincerity and ignorance, may be attributing to human causes that reinvigoration of spiritual life which is but the forgotten baptismal grace of Christ mercifully "in them, springing up to everlasting life." (John iv., 14; John vii., 38, 39.) This may be also one of God's means of humbling and reforming his too careless Church.

Catholic principle, as to the bestowal of baptismal grace, ought not to be lost sight of here. In the Church there seems to have been recognized a sort of three-fold validity of baptism. The first,* as ordinarily received from a minister of the Church; the second,† pertaining to the grace of martyrdom, or “baptism by blood;” and the third,‡ even extending in cases of extreme necessity to Christian confession, and the earnest desire of the sacrament. Doubtless, it is the all-seeing God alone who can decide on any individual case. Yet it is easy to see how the Catholic doctrine does, at least, open a wide door to charitable hope.§ How many even of those who are outwardly schismatical may not be wholly so, we can never know here. How far the sincerity of some, or the circumstances of others, may avail before God, He only can decide. Still, while our “charity hopeth all things,” we know that where there is doubt only, there may be danger, and charity itself would oblige us to warn, for we think there is this peril; and we warn those Churchmen of their greater peril who sanction religious principles, or frequent even doubtful assemblies which the Church acknowledges not. They not only endanger themselves, but by their example may fatally mislead the souls of their brethren. But let us take the extremest case that can be alleged, namely, that of persons wilfully guilty of total and deliberate schism from the Apostolic Church; when we deny to such all share in the Church’s peculiar grace here, or glory hereafter, are we denying them aught that they do not deny themselves?—aught which they even wish to claim? For instance, the Church has ever maintained that baptism, in the apostolic community, conveys the most exalted and unearthly blessings, and by consequence maintains that the unbaptized possess them not. But is it not a fact that all such persons totally reject the notion of there being any spiritual value in baptism? Does our uncharitableness then place them in a worse position than that which they voluntarily choose for themselves and resolutely defend? Surely we are taking rather a high view of our own privileges and grace in Christ than in any degree depriving others of theirs. We leave them where they place themselves, and it seems hard to call this a want of charity. It is impossible to say that we are depriving of sacraments those who do not even pretend to them except in form. It is strange and uncandid to say that we unchurch those who (in our sense of the word) do not even pretend to be Churches.—*On the Apostolic Succession. Parochial Lectures.* By W. J. Irons, M.A., Vicar of Barkway, Herts. 8vo. pp. 102-104.

M.

* John iii., 5.—the ordinary “entrance to the Kingdom.”

† Matt. xx., 22, and perhaps 1 Cor. xv. 29.

‡ Rom. x. 19 (which conveys the principle), and Luke xxiii. 42.

§ Our own Church recognizes this doctrine. Speaking in her baptismal office of the “great necessity of the sacrament where it may be had;” and in the Catechism of its “general necessity,” Christ affirmed generally the necessity of being “born of water” as the preliminary of “entrance to his kingdom,” yet he promised admission thereto to the dying thief who confessed him with a penitent heart.

OF SACRAMENTS;

AND CHIEFLY CONCERNING THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

BY THE VERY REVEREND ALEXANDER NOWEL, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The question concerning the sacraments—their nature and efficacy—is one, perhaps, of the *most* important in the controversies of the present day. The Fourth Part of Dean Nowel's Catechism, which (with the exception of the concluding remarks on the right use of Ecclesiastical Discipline) we here reprint, will show abundantly that the doctrine of the Reformation, touching the divine mysteries, was the same in Elizabeth's reign as in the sixth Edward's. Nowel's Catechism was "approved and allowed" by the Convocation of 1562, which "agreed upon" the "Articles;" and at which Archbishop Parker (who was chief of the Commissioners appointed to revise the Liturgy) presided. The following reprint is made from Norton's Translation (which was sanctioned by Nowel, and dedicated to the Episcopal Bench), 4to. 1570.

OXFORD—*The Feast of St. Andrew.*

I.

[*The Master—The Scholar.*]

Ma. Now, having ended our treating of the law of God, of the creed, or Christian confession, and also of prayer and of thanksgiving, it resteth last of all to speak of the sacraments and divine mysteries, which alway have prayer and thanksgiving joined unto them. Tell me, therefore, what is a sacrament?

Scho. It is an outward testifying of God's good will and bountifulness towards us through Christ, by a visible sign representing an invisible and spiritual grace, by which the promises of God, touching forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation given through Christ, are, as it were, sealed, and the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our hearts.

Ma. Of how many parts consisteth a sacrament?

Scho. Of two parts, the outward element or visible sign, and invisible grace.

Ma. Why would God so have us to use outward signs?

Scho. Surely we are not endued with mind and understanding

so heavenly and divine, that the graces of God do appear clearly of themselves to us as it were to angels:* by this mean, therefore, God hath provided for our weakness, that we which are earthly and blind should in outward elements and figures, as it were in certain glasses, behold the heavenly grace which otherwise we were not able to see. And greatly for our behoof it is that God's promises should be presented to our senses, that they may be confirmed to our minds without doubting.

Ma. But is it not a manifest proof of infidelity in us not to give sure faith to God's promises, unless we be underpropped with such helps?

Scho. Surely we are endued with slender and unperfect faith so long as we are in this world, and yet we cease not to be faithful. For the remnants of distrust which alway stick in our flesh, do show the weakness of our faith, but yet do not utterly quench it. These remnants of distrust, though we cannot altogether shake off, yet we must with continual increasing even to the end of our life travail towards perfection of faith, in which endeavour the use of sacraments doth much further us.

Ma. Is there any other cause why the Lord would have the use of external signs practised?

Scho. The Lord did furthermore ordain his mysteries to this end, that they should be certain marks and tokens of our profession, whereby we should, as it were, bear witness of our faith before men, and should plainly show that we are partakers of God's benefits with the rest of the godly, and that we have all one concord and consent of religion with them, and should openly testify that we are not ashamed of the name of Christians, and to be called the disciples of Christ.

Ma. What thinkest thou, then, of them that think they may spare the divine mysteries, as things not of so great necessity?

Scho. First, they cannot fail this so godly and due a duty without most heinous offence against God the Father, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and also against his Church. For what were that else than indirectly to deny Christ? And he that vouchsafeth not to profess himself a Christian, is not worthy to be counted in the number of Christians. Again, they that would refuse the use of sacraments, as if they had no need of them, I think were worthy to be condemned, not only of most high presumption, but also of unkind wickedness against God, forasmuch as they do despise not only the helps of their own weakness, but also God himself, the author of them—

* See a similar passage in Jewel's "Treatise of the Sacraments," "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," p. 70.

refuse his grace, and (as much as in them lieth) extinguish his Spirit.

Ma. Thou conceivest well the right understanding concerning the visible signs and outward use of the sacraments. But whereas, secondly, as thou givest to sacraments the strength and efficacy to seal and confirm God's promises in our hearts, thou seemest to assign to them the proper offices of the Holy Ghost.

Scho. To lighten and give bright clearness to men's minds and souls, and to make their consciences quiet and in security, as they be indeed, so ought they to be accounted the proper work of the Holy Ghost alone, and to be imputed to him, and this praise not to be transferred to any other. But this is no impediment but that God may give to his mysteries the second place * in quieting and stablishing our minds and consciences, but yet so that nothing be abated from the virtue of his Spirit : wherefore we must determine that the outward element hath neither of itself, nor in itself, enclosed the force and efficacy of the sacrament, but that the same wholly floweth from the Spirit of God, as out of a spring-head, and is by the divine mysteries which are ordained by the Lord for this end conveyed unto us.

Ma. How many sacraments hath God ordained in his Church?

Scho. Two.†

Ma. Which be they?

Scho. Baptism and the Holy Supper, which are commonly used among all the faithful. For by the one we are born again, and by the other we are nourished to everlasting life.

Ma. Then tell me first what thou thinkest of Baptism?

Scho. Whereas by nature we are the children of wrath—that is, strangers from the Church, which is God's household, baptism is, as it were, a certain entry, by which we are received into the Church, whereof we also receive a most substantial testimony, that we are now in the number of the household, and also of the children of God; yea, and that we are joined and grafted into the body of Christ, and become his members, and do grow into one body with him.

Ma. Thou saidst before, that a sacrament consisteth of two parts—the outward sign, and inward grace. What is the outward sign in baptism?

* Which may be taken as equally true of the absolution and other sacramental rites of the Church. So in the English Liturgy, the priest after absolution given, adds, "Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his Holy Spirit," &c.

† See Note I.

Scho. Water, wherein the person baptized is dipped or sprinkled with it, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Ma. What is the secret and spiritual grace?

Scho. It is of two sorts—that is, forgiveness of sins, and regeneration; both of which in the same outward sign have their full and express resemblance.

Ma. How so?

Scho. First, as the uncleannesses of the body are washed away with water, so the spots of the soul are washed away by forgiveness of sins. Secondly, the beginning of regeneration—that is, the mortifying of our nature, is expressed by dipping in the water, or by sprinkling of it. Finally, when we by and by rise up again out of the water, under which we be for a short time, the new life, which is the other part, and the end of our regeneration, is thereby represented.

Ma. Thou seemest to make the water but a certain figure of divine things.

Scho. It is a figure, indeed, but not empty* or deceitful, but such as hath the truth of the things themselves joined and knit unto it; for as in baptism God truly delivereth us forgiveness of sins and newness of life, so do we certainly receive them. For God forbid that we should think that God mocketh and deceiveth us with vain figures.

Ma. Do we not then obtain forgiveness of sins by the outward washing or sprinkling of water?

Scho. No. For only Christ hath with his blood washed and clean washed away the spots of our souls. This honour, therefore, it is unlawful to give to the outward element. But the Holy Ghost, as it were, sprinkling our consciences with that holy blood, wiping away all the spots of sin, maketh us clean before God. Of this cleansing of our sins we have a seal† and pledge in the sacrament.

Ma. But whence have we regeneration?

Scho. None other ways but from the death and resurrection of Christ. For by the force of Christ's death, our old man is, after a certain manner, crucified and mortified, and the corruptness of our nature is, as it were, buried, that it no more live and

* This language exactly agrees with Bishop Hooper's. See "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," p. 15. Note.

† "The promises of forgiveness of sin and our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are [in holy baptism] visibly signed and sealed."—Art. xxvii. See *Dr. Pusey's Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, pp. 37-39, and 213-216, Note.

be strong in us. And by the beneficial mean of his resurrection he giveth us grace to be newly formed unto a new life, to obey the righteousness of God.

Ma. Do all generally, and without difference, receive this grace ?

Scho. The only faithful receive this fruit ; but the unbelieving, in refusing the promises offered them by God, shut up the entry* against themselves, and go away empty. Yet do they not thereby make that the sacraments lose their force and nature.

Ma. Tell me then briefly in what things the use of baptism consisteth ?

Scho. In faith and repentance. For first, we must with assured confidence hold it determined in our hearts, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from all filthiness of sin, and so be acceptable to God, and that his spirit dwelleth within us. And then we must continually, with all our power and endeavour, travail in mortifying our flesh, and obeying the righteousness of God, and must by godly life declare to all men that we have in baptism, as it were, put on Christ, and have his spirit given us.

Ma. Sith [since] infants cannot by age perform those things thou speakest of, why are they baptized ?

Scho. That faith and repentance go before baptism, is required only in persons so grown in years, that by age they are capable of both. But to infants, the promise made to the Church by Christ, in whose faith they are baptized, shall for the present time be sufficient ; and then afterward, when they are grown to years, they must needs themselves acknowledge the truth of the baptism, and have the force thereof to be lively in their souls, and to be represented in their life and behaviour.

Ma. How shall we know that infants ought not to be kept from baptism ?

Scho. Seeing God, which never swerveth from truth, nor in anything strayeth from the right way, did not exclude infants in the Jewish Church from circumcision, neither ought our infants to be put back from baptism.

Ma. Thinkest thou these so like that they both have one cause and order ?

Scho. Altogether, for as Moses and all the prophets do testify that circumcision was a sign of repentance, so doth St. Paul

* This is precisely the doctrine of our English divines at a later period. It has been pretended, however, that the notion that the sacraments have an efficacy of their own, *i. e.*, that they convey grace wherever there are no impediments in the individual, was originated by the " High-Church divines of Charles's days ?"

teach that it was a sacrament of faith. Yet the Jews' children being not yet by age capable of faith and repentance, were nevertheless circumcised, by which visible sign God showed himself in the Old Testament to be the father of young children, and of the seed of his people. Now sith it is certain that the grace of God is both more plentifully poured * and more clearly declared in the Gospel by Christ, than at that time it was in the Old Testament by Moses, it were a great indignity if the same grace should now be thought to be either obscurer, or in any part abated.

Ma. Go on forward.

Scho. Sith it is certain that our infants have the force, and, as it were, the substance of baptism common with us, they have wrong done them if the sign, which is inferior to the truth itself, should be denied them; and the same, which greatly availeth to testifying of the mercy by God and confirming his promises, being taken away, Christians should be defrauded of a singular comfort, which they that were in old time enjoyed, and so should our infants be more hardly dealt with in the New Testament, under Christ, than was dealt with the Jews' infants in the Old Testament under Moses. Therefore most great reason it is that by baptism, as by the print of a seal, it be assured to our infants that they be heirs of God's grace, and of the salvation promised to the seed of the faithful.

Ma. Is there any more that thou wilt say of this matter?

Scho. Sith the Lord Christ calleth infants unto him, and commandeth that no man forbid them to come, embraceth them when they come to him,† and testifieth that to them the kingdom of heaven belongeth, whom God vouchsafed to be in the heavenly palace, it seemeth a great wrong that men should forbid them the first entry and the door thereof, and after a certain manner to shut them out of the Christian commonweal.

Ma. It is so. But whereas thou didst say before, that children after they were grown more in years, ought to acknowledge the truth of their baptism, I would thou shouldst now speak somewhat more plain thereof.

* See Dr. Pusey's "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism," pp. 135-188.

† "Ye perceive how by His outward gesture and deed he declared his good will to them; for he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive this present infant; that he will embrace him with the arms of his mercy; that he will give unto him the blessing of eternal life, and make him partaker of his everlasting kingdom."—*Office for the Public Baptism of Infants: the Exhortation.*

Scho. Parents and schoolmasters did, in old time, diligently instruct their children, as soon as by age they were able to perceive and understand, in the first principles of Christian religion, that they might suck in godliness almost together with the nurse's milk, and straightways after their cradle, might be nourished with the tender food of virtue towards that blessed life. For the which purpose also little short books, which we name catechisms, were written, wherein the same, or very like matters as we now are in hand with, were entreated upon. And after that the children seemed to be sufficiently trained in the principles of our religion, they brought and offered them unto the bishop.

Ma. For what purpose did they so?

Scho. That children might, after baptism, do the same which such as were elder, who were also called *catechumini*; that is, scholars of religion, did in old time before, or rather at baptism itself. For the bishop did require and the children did render reason and account of their religion and faith; and such children as the bishop judged to have sufficiently profited in the understanding of religion, he allowed, and laying his hands upon them, and blessing them, let them depart. This allowance and blessing of the bishop our men do call confirmation.

Ma. But there was another confirmation used of late?

Scho. Instead of this most profitable and ancient confirmation, they conveyed a device of their own, that is, that the bishop should not examine children whether they were skilled in the precepts of religion or no, but that they should anoint * young infants yet unable to speak, much less to give any account of their faith; adjoining also other ceremonies unknown unto the holy Scripture and the primitive Church. This invention of theirs they would needs have to be a sacrament, and accounted it in manner equal in dignity with baptism; yea, some of them preferred it also before baptism. By all means they would that this their confirmation should be taken for a certain supplying of baptism, that it should thereby be finished and brought to

* It will be observed, that the primitive use of unction is not here condemned, but merely the Romish abuse of it. Like Jewel, and the elder Reformers, Nowel duly revered "the primitive Church," and "the best and *most ancient* expositors." He was, therefore, doubtless aware "that within a very few years after the apostles, the holy Fathers used to apply oil and balm to those that were confirmed, as an external sign of the inward unction of the Holy Spirit, and to represent the baptism of the apostles on the day of Pentecost with fire."—See *Wheatley on the Common Prayer*, p. 401. Edit. 1825.

perfection, as though baptism else were imperfect, and as though children who in baptism had put upon them Christ with his benefits, without their confirmation were but half Christians; than which injury no greater could be done against the divine sacrament, and against God himself, and Christ our Saviour, the author and founder of the holy sacrament of baptism.

Ma. It were to be wished, therefore, that the ancient manner and usage of examining children were restored again.

Scho. Very much to be wished, surely. For so should parents be brought to the satisfying of their duty in the godly bringing up of their children, which they now for the most part do leave undone, and quite reject from them; which part of their duty, if parents or schoolmasters would at this time take in hand, do, and thoroughly perform, there would be a marvellous consent and agreement in religion and faith, which is now in miserable sort torn asunder. Surely all should not either be so shadowed and overwhelmed with the darkness of ignorance, or with dissensions* of divers and contrary opinions be so disturbed, dissolved, and dissipated, as it is at this day: the more pity it is, and most to be sorrowed of all good men for so miserable a case.

Ma. It is very true that thou sayest. Now tell me the order of the Lord's Supper.

Scho. It is even the same which the Lord Christ did institute, who in the same night that he was betrayed, "took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take eat, this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.' Likewise, after supper, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, 'Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. For so oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come.'" This is the form and order of the Lord's Supper which we ought to hold, and holily to keep, till he come.

Ma. For what use?

Scho. To celebrate and retain continually a thankful resemblance of the Lord's death, and of that most singular benefit which we have received thereby; and that as in baptism we were once born again, so with the Lord's Supper we be always fed and sustained to spiritual and everlasting life.

Ma. Thou sayest then that it is enough to be once baptized, as to be once born, but thou affirmest that the Lord's Supper, like as food, must be often used?

* See Note II.

Scho. Yea forsooth, master.

Ma. Dost thou say that there are two parts in this sacrament also, as in baptism ?

Scho. Yea. The one part bread and wine, the outward signs which are seen with our eyes, handled with our hands, and felt with our taste ; the other part, Christ himself, with whom our souls, as with their proper food, are inwardly nourished.

Ma. And dost thou say that all ought alike to receive both parts of the sacrament ?

Scho. Yea, verily, master. For sith the Lord hath expressly so commanded, it were a most high offence in any part to abridge his commandment.

Ma. Why should the Lord have here two signs to be used.

Scho. First, He severally gave the signs both of his body and blood, that it might be the more plain express image of his death which he suffered—his body being torn, his side pierced, and all his blood shed—and that the memory thereof so printed in our hearts should stick the deeper. And, moreover, that the Lord might so provide for and help our weakness, and thereby manifestly declare, that as the bread for nourishment of our bodies, so his body hath most singular force and efficacy spiritually to feed our souls ; and as with wine men's hearts are cheered, and their strength confirmed, so with his blood our souls are relieved and refreshed ; that certainly assuring ourselves that he is not only our meat, but also our drink, we do not anywhere else but in him alone seek any part of our spiritual nourishment and eternal life.

Ma. Is there then not an only figure, but the truth itself, of the benefits that thou hast rehearsed, delivered in the Supper ?

Scho. What else ? For sith Christ is the truth itself, it is no doubt but that the thing which he testifieth in words, and representeth in signs, he performeth also in deed, and delivereth unto us ; and that he as surely maketh them that believe in him, partakers of his body and blood, as they surely know that they have received the bread and wine with their mouth and stomach.

Ma. Sith we be in the earth, and Christ's body in heaven, how can that be that thou sayest ?

Scho. We must lift our souls and hearts from earth, and raise them up by faith to heaven, where Christ is.

Ma. Sayest thou then the mean to receive the body and blood of Christ standeth upon faith ?

Scho. Yea. For when we believe that Christ died to deliver us from death, and that he rose again to procure us life, we are partakers of the redemption purchased by his death, and of his life, and all other his good things ; and with the same conjoining wherewith the head and members are knit together, he coupleth

us to himself by secret and marvellous virtue of his spirit, even so that we be members of his body, and be of his flesh and bones, and do grow into one body with him.

Ma. Dost thou then, that this conjoining may be made, imagine the bread and wine to be *changed into the substance* of the flesh and blood of Christ?

Scho. There is no need to invent any such change. For both the holy Scripture, and the best and most ancient expositors, do teach that by baptism we are likewise the members of Christ, and are of his flesh and bones, and do grow into one body with him, when yet there is no such change made in the water.*

Ma. Go on.

Scho. In both the sacraments the substances of the outward things [are] not changed, but the word of God and heavenly grace coming to them, there is such efficacy, that as by baptism we are once regenerate in Christ, and are first, as it were, joined and grafted into his body, so, when we rightly receive the Lord's Supper, with the very divine nourishment of his body and blood, most full of health and immortality, given to us by the work of the Holy Ghost, and received of us by faith, as the mouth of our soul, we are continually fed and sustained to eternal life, growing together in them both into one body with Christ.

Ma. Then Christ doth also otherwise than by his Supper only, give himself unto us, and knitteth us to himself with most strait conjoining?

Scho. Christ did then principally give himself to us, to be the author of our salvation, when he gave himself to death for us, that we should not perish with deserved death. By the Gospel, also, he giveth himself to the faithful, and plainly teacheth that he is that lively bread that came down from heaven, to nourish their souls that believed in him. And also, in baptism, as is before said, Christ gave himself to us effectually, for that he then made us Christians.

Ma. And sayest thou that there be no less strait bands of conjoining in the Supper?

Scho. In the Lord's Supper, both that communicating which I spake of, is confirmed unto us, and is also increased, for that each man is, both by the words and mysteries of God, ascertained that the same belongeth to himself, and that Christ is by a certain peculiar manner given to him, that he may most fully, and with most near conjunction, enjoy him, inasmuch that not

* See Note III.

only our souls are nourished with his holy body and blood, as with their proper food, but also our bodies,* for that they partake of the sacrament of eternal life, have, as it were, by a pledge given them, a certain hope assured them of resurrection and immortality, that at length Christ abiding in us, may obtain not only everlasting life, but also the glory which his Father gave him. In a sum I say thus: as I imagine not any gross joining, so I affirm that same secret and marvellous communicating of Christ's body in his supper to be most near and straight, most assured, most true, and altogether most high and perfect.†

Ma. Of this thou hast said of the Lord's Supper, meseems I may gather, that the same was not ordained to this end, that Christ's body should be offered in sacrifice to God the Father for sins.

Scho. It is not so offered.‡ For he, when he did institute his supper, commanded us to eat his body, not to offer it. As for the prerogative of offering for sins, it pertaineth to Christ alone, as to him which is the Eternal Priest, which also, when he died upon the cross, once made that only and everlasting sacrifice for our salvation, and fully performed the same for ever. For us there is nothing left to do but to take the use and benefit of that eternal sacrifice bequeathed to us by the Lord himself, which we chiefly do in the Lord's Supper.

Ma. Then I perceive the holy Supper evadeth us to the death of Christ, and to his sacrifice once done upon the cross, by which alone God is appeased toward us?

Scho. It is most true. For by bread and wine the sign is assured unto us, that as the body of Christ was once offered a sacrifice for us, to reconcile us to favour with God, and his blood once, to wash away the spots of our sins, so now also both are given shed to the faithful, that we surely know that the reconciliation of favour pertaineth to us, and may take and receive the fruit of redemption, purchased by his death.

Ma. Are then the only faithful fed with his body and blood?

Scho. They only. For to whom he communicateth his body, to them (as I said) he communicateth also everlasting life.

Ma. Why dost thou not grant that the body and blood of

* "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ.....preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."—"The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.....preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."—*Office for the Holy Communion.*

† See Note IV.

‡ See Note V.

Christ are included in the bread and cup, or that the bread and wine are changed into the substance of his body and blood?

Scho. Because that were to bring in doubt the truth of Christ's body, to do dishonour to Christ himself, and to fill them with abhorring that receive the sacrament, if we should imagine his body either to be enclosed in so narrow a room, or to be in many places at once, or his flesh to be chewed in our mouth with our teeth, and to be bitten small and eaten, as other meat.*

Ma. Why, then, is the communicating of the sacrament damnable to the wicked, if there be no such change made?

Scho. Because they come to the holy and divine mysteries with hypocrisy and counterfeiting, and do wickedly profane them, to the great injury and dishonour of the Lord himself that ordained them.

Ma. Declare, then, what is our duty, that we may rightly come to the Lord's Supper?

Scho. Even the same that we are taught in the Holy Scriptures, namely, to examine ourselves, whether we be true members of Christ.

Ma. By what marks and tokens shall we manifestly find it?

Scho. First, if we heartily repent us of our sins, which drove Christ to death, whose mysteries are now delivered us; next, if we stay ourselves and rest upon a sure hope of God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of our redemption purchased by his death. Moreover, if we conceive an earnest mind and determined purpose to lead our life godlily hereafter. Finally, if seeing in the Lord's Supper is contained also a tokening of friendship and love among men, we bear brotherly love to our neighbours, that is, to all men, without any evil will or hatred.

Ma. Is any man able fully and perfectly to perform all these things that thou speakest of?

Scho. Full perfection in all points wherein nothing may be lacking cannot be found in man so long in man as he abideth in this world; yet ought not the imperfection that holdeth us keep us back from coming to the Lord's Supper, which the Lord willet to be a help to our imperfection and weakness. Yea, if if we were perfect, there should be no more need of any use of the Lord's Supper among us. But hereto these things that I have spoken of do tend, that every man bring with him to the Supper repentance, faith, and charity, so near as possibly may be, sincere and unfeigned.

* We are not, of course, bound to receive all the reasoning here, though we may hold to the conclusion.

Ma. But when thou saidst afore that the sacraments avail to confirmation of faith, how dost thou now say that we must bring faith to them ?

Scho. These sayings do not disagree. For there must be faith begun in us, to the nourishing and strengthening whereof the Lord hath ordained the sacraments, which bring great effectual helps to the confirming, and, as it were, sealing the promises of God in our hearts.

Ma. There remaineth yet for thee to tell to whom the ministration of the sacraments properly belongeth ?

Scho. Sith the duties and offices of feeding the Lord's flock with God's word, and the ministering of sacraments, are most nearly joined together, there is no doubt that the ministration thereof properly belongeth to them to whom the office of public teaching is committed. For as the Lord himself at his Supper, exercising the office of the public minister, did set forth his example to be followed, so did he commit the offices of baptizing and teaching peculiarly to the apostles.

NOTES.

I.

“ You shall hear how many sacraments there be, that were instituted by our Saviour Christ, and are to be continued, and received of every Christian in due time and order, and for such purpose as our Saviour Christ willed them to be received. And as for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the exact signification of a sacrament, namely, for the visible signs, expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sin, and of our holiness and joining in Christ : there be but *two*, namely, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. For although absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin, yet by the express word of the New Testament, it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not expressly commanded in the New Testament to be used in absolution, as the visible signs in baptism and the Lord's Supper are ; and, therefore, absolution is no *such* sacrament as baptism and the communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath his visible sign and promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sins, as all *other* sacraments besides do. Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as baptism and

the communion are.”—*Of Common Prayer and Sacraments. Second Book of Homilies.* Edit. 1587. See also the last *Tracts of the Anglican Fathers*, note, p. 73.

II

Of the *authors* of the “dissensions,” which Nowel so laments, he, in another part of his Catechism, writes thus strongly :—

“They that seditiously stir up discord in the Church of God, and make division and strife in it, and trouble it with sects, have all hope of safety by forgiveness of sins cut off from them, till they be reconciled and return to agreement and favour with the Church.” (p. 47. Edit. 1570).

With reference to the same parties, Nowel’s contemporary, Edwin Sandys (one of the revisers of the Liturgy, and afterwards Archbishop of York), thus expresses himself :—

“They which are saved must be sanctified *in truth*; they which are of the truth must be consummate and made perfect *in one*. They are no better than soul murderers, be they never so painful in their teaching, that teach such doctrines as do either poison the Church with heresy, or dismember and rend it asunder with schism. Of heretics, St. Paul, forewarning the Church of Ephesus, saith, ‘I know that after my departure there will be *ravening wolves* enter in among you, not sparing the flock.’ Of schismatics he writeth in most earnest manner, as well to the Church of Corinth, as of Rome. To the one, ‘I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all say one thing, and that there be no schisms among you;’ to the other, ‘Mark them diligently who cause divisions.’ These serve not the Saviour, they serve the destroyer of the world.”—*Sermons*, pp. 197, 198. Edit. 1616.

III.

This was a favorite argument with the Reformers; thus Bishop Ridley observes :—

“Now, on the other side, if, after the truth shall be truly tried out, it is found that the substance of bread is the material substance of the sacrament, although for the change of the use, office, and dignity of the bread, the bread indeed, sacramentally, is changed into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration, and yet the material substance thereof remaineth all one as was before,” &c.—*Enchiridion*, vol. i., p. 72.

Again—“There is no need to hold the dogma of transubstantiation in order to believe that Christ is imparted in the eucharist, because he is equally imparted in baptism, and yet no one contends that the water is transubstantiated.”—“As the body is nonrished by the bread and wine at the communion, and the soul by grace and spirit with the body of Christ; even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread.”—*Wordsworth’s Life of Ridley*, vol. iii., p. 238.

Cranmer, in one of his latest works, writes :—

“I mean that he [Christ] is present in the ministration and receiving of that holy supper, according to his own institution and ordinance, like as in baptism, Christ and the Holy Ghost be not *in* the water, or font, but be *given in the ministration*, or to them that be truly baptized in the water.”—*Answer to Gardiner*, p. 172.

Bradford says—

“As, therefore, in baptism is given to us the Holy Ghost, and pardon of our sins, which lie not lurking in the water, so in the Lord’s Supper is given unto us the communion of Christ’s body and blood, without transubstantiation, or including the same in the bread. By baptism the old man is put off, the new man is put on, yea, Christ is put on without transubstantiating the water. And even so it is in the Lord’s Supper.”—*Sermon on the Lord’s Supper*, quoted in *Wordsworth’s Life of Latimer*, iii., 236.

The above quotations are taken from the notes to Dr. W. F. Hook’s truly valuable Visitation Sermon.

IV.

“Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent: but (as the Scripture saith) the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of the Lord, the memory of Christ, the annunciation of his death, yea, the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which, by the operation of the Holy Ghost (the very bond of our conjunction with Christ), is, through faith, wrought in the souls of the faithful, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win to their bodies a resurrection to immortality. The true understanding of this fruition and union, which is the body and the head betwixt the true believers and Christ, the ancient Catholic Fathers, both perceiving themselves and commending to their people, were not afraid to call this Supper, some of them, the salve of immortality and sovereign preservative against death; other, a deifical communion; other, the sweet dainties of our Saviour, the pledge of eternal health, the defence of faith, the hope of the resurrection; other, the food of immortality, the healthful grace, and the conservatory of everlasting life. All which sayings, both of the Holy Scripture and godly men, truly attributed unto this celestial banquet and feast, if we would often call unto mind, O how would they inflame our hearts to desire a participation of these mysteries, and oftentimes for to covet after this bread, continually to thirst for this food, not as specially regarding the terrene and earthly creatures which remain, but always holding fast and cleaving by faith to the Rock whence we may suck the sweetness of everlasting salvation.”—*The First Part of the Sermon concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Second Book of Homilies*.

“Doth any man doubt but that even from the flesh of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which will make them glorious at the latter day, and for which are already accounted parts of his blessed

body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joined with his body that is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortality, a cause by removing, through the death and merit of his own flesh, that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is, therefore, both as God and man, that true vine, whereof we both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what our very bodies through mystical conjunction receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes, rather to declare the truth, than the manner of coherence between his sacred and the sanctified bodies of saints."—*Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v., c. lvi., 10. Edit. Keble.

"Let it be sufficient for me presenting myself at the Lord's table to know that there I receive from him, without searching or enquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over-patiently heard, let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to his very cross, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force and virtue, even the blood of his gored side; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feelth, great which he seeth, and unheard-of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new wine; this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this cup, hallowed with solemn benedictions, availeth to the endless life and welfare of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ; what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ; his promise in witness hereof sufficeth, his word he knoweth which way to accomplish. Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this—O my God, thou art true—O my soul, thou art happy!"—*Ibid.* book v., c. lxvii., 12. See also *Newman's Parochial Sermons*, vol. i., pp. 317-319, 2nd Edit.

"The eucharist is not a bare sign or figure only.....These holy mysteries, received in due manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of that body and blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides, also impart unto us, even in true and real though mystical manner the very person of our Lord himself, whole, perfect, and entire."—*Eccel. Pol.* v. c. lxvii. 8.

V.

Observe the cautious expression "*so offered.*" The remainder of the

sentence more fully explains what it is which is denied concerning the sacrifice, and what also ought to be maintained. It is denied that the prerogative of offering for sins pertains to any save to Christ alone; but it adds, that is left for us to do is to "take the use and benefit of that eternal sacrifice" "in the Lord's Supper," and further, that the "Holy Supper" "sendeth us to the sacrifice once done on the cross, by which alone God is appeased toward us." The Reformers had no thought of denying the Catholic doctrine of a *commemorative* sacrifice in the eucharist. It is fully set forth in Edward's First Service-book, of which even as late as in his "Defence of the Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament," &c., Cranmer says, "Thanks be to the eternal God, the manner of the holy communion which is now set forth within this realm, is agreeable with the institution of Christ, with St. Paul, and the old primitive and Apostolic Church, with the right faith of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross for our redemption, and with the true doctrine of our salvation, justification, and remission of all our sins by that only sacrifice."—B. v. c. ult. p. 463. Ed. *Jenkyns*.

In a passage cited by Burnet ("History of the Reformation," vol. iv. p. 274, Records, *Edit. Nares*), Cranmer also says:—

"The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is not so called, because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and people (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross), but it is so called because it is a memory or representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation."

And Ridley observes—

"The representation of Christ's death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation, or immolation of Christ. *Non rei veritate* (as learned men do write) *sed significandi mysterio*."

Jewel (Dean Howel's contemporary), in his answer to Harding, writes—

"You will say, ye offer not up Christ really unto God his Father. No, M. Harding, neither we nor you can so offer him, nor did Christ ever give you commission to make such sacrifice. And this is it, where with you so foully beguile the simple—Christ offereth and presenteth us unto his Father. For by him we have access to the throne of grace, but no creature is able to offer him. Christ Jesus upon his cross was a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedeck. 'As for our part (St. Augustine saith), Christ hath given us to celebrate in his Church, an image or token of that sacrifice for the remembrance of his passion.' Again he saith, 'After Christ's ascension into heaven, the flesh and blood of this sacrifice is continued by a sacrament of remembrance.' Eusebius saith, 'We burn a sacrifice unto God, the remembrance of that great sacrifice upon the cross, and Christ commanded us to offer a remembrance of his death instead of a sacrifice. It were an infinite labour to report all that may be said.' Pp. 130, 131. Edit 1609.

Again, in his reply to Harding's answer, Jewel observes—

"Chrysostom sheweth in what sense other ancient Fathers used this word *sacrifice*, and also utterly overthroweth M. Harding's whole pur-

pose touching the same ; for as he saith, ‘ We offer up the same sacrifice that Christ offered ;’ so in most plain, wise, and by sundry words, he removeth all doubt, and declareth in what sort and meaning we offer it. He saith not as M. Harding saith, ‘ We offer up the Son of God unto his Father, and that verily and indeed,’ but contrariwise thus he saith, ‘ We offer indeed, but in remembrance of his death. This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice. This that we do is done in remembrance of that that was done. We offer up the same that Christ offered—or rather, we work the remembrance of that sacrifice.’ Thus we offer up Christ—that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of that death of Christ. This kind of sacrifice was never denied. P. 424.

I.



OF REMISSION OF SINS IN THE CHURCH ;
AND CHIEFLY CONCERNING ABSOLUTIONS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. LAUNCELOT ANDREWS, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

OF THE CHURCH,

HER DOCTRINES, AND THE OPPOSING HERESIES.

BY THE RIGHT REV. RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have taken a sermon of Bishop Andrews and a sermon of Archbishop Bancroft to form Part III. of these Tracts, and illustrate the doctrine of the English Church during their time; and some notes from Bishop Bilson are added at the end of this part. We scarcely anticipate that any Churchman will, on hearing the venerated name of Andrews, dispute his claim to be placed among the highest of the Reformed Anglican Fathers; though some, we apprehend, will be startled at many of the positions which they will find him here defending as English orthodoxy in his days. [See pp. 118, 119, 120.] Probably no prelate of our Church, either before or after him, has ever been more acknowledged as a doctor, or more revered as a saint. And no one, we think, will be likely to attribute to any personal partialities our selection of Bancroft as the other authoritative spokesman of English divinity during the times immediately preceding and following the Hampton Court Conference—the third revision of our Formularies. Of the spirit and tone, and some personal sentiments of that prelate, we profess to be no admirers; but we only adduce his evidence, so far as he may justly be deemed to speak the sentiments of the Church. After the first day's meeting of the Conference, Bancroft (then Bishop of London) was deputed by Whitgift, the primate, to represent the sentiments of the hierarchy and the Church, in conjunction with Bishop Bilson. It has happened, and not without reason, that Bancroft has been less quoted and less read, by posterity, than Bilson, the successful opponent at the Conference of the learned Puritan, Dr. Reynolds, who yielded to him the ground of antiquity claimed by the English Church at that time. But Bancroft, however inferior in some respects to his coadjutor, cannot be overlooked in an examination of the Church sentiments, during his episcopate, and, eventually his primacy: * more especially when we recollect the concurrence of the clergy generally in his fierce opposition to Puritanism. The sermon of the bishop which we here reprint was preached at the request

* Whitgift died in the month after the Hampton Court Conference, and Bancroft was raised to the see of Canterbury.

Whitgift, the metropolitan, for the express purpose of vindicating the Episcopacy against the schismatical efforts of the Puritans in and out of Parliament. And it is said to have had considerable effect in moderating the tone of the Presbyterians during that session. It is, altogether, a remarkable document : a singular illustration both of the religious and political state of the times. But, apart from all the peculiarities of the man or the age, whether of style or argument, it is impossible to avoid recognizing the broad characteristics of the old Anglican Divinity, so strongly marked. The general language of appeal to antiquity and the "Fathers" used throughout—the maintaining of the Church authority—the condemnation of schism—the upholding of a middle path between Roman superstitious tradition and Puritan latitude of private judgment—these, and many others, are the outlines of a Catholic theology, such as our first Reformers had preserved through the worst times.

We have in these Tracts very carefully and professedly abstained from expressing reliance on any individual prelates or Reformers. On the judgment of the Catholic Church we do place reliance the most implicit ; and to the judgment of that part of it existing in this realm we owe the obedience of children ; and we value the writings of our Fathers in the faith so far only as they express the Catholic teaching of the Church of Christ. True it is, that the sentiments of men high in authority are not always the sentiments of the great body of the Church. True it is, that every man of high station, intellect, or learning, will be likely to have some private opinions more or less peculiar to himself. But the Church's abiding doctrine is ever clearly discernible from these variations of thought, from which it seems divinely protected by an unseen grace. None, we repeat, would deprecate more earnestly than we should, any thing like an appeal to the judgment of Cranmer, or Parker, or Grindal ; we make our appeal to a tribunal to which they were all in a large measure obliged to submit. We appeal to a system happily too strong for the personal opinions or prejudices of any or all of the leading Reformers, at different times. We appeal to a system which withstood, at one time, the laxity of a Cranmer, the modified Calvinism of a Grindal, and the semi-Erastianism of a Bancroft. We make our appeal to the Catholic Church of England. The willingness of the great body of the English clergy to reform abuses and corruptions, both of doctrine and discipline, is evidenced by their joining in the reforms set on foot by Henry and Edward. And, on the other hand, the steadiness of their repugnance to the doctrine and discipline of Geneva, saved the Church from that permanent

impress of continental Protestantism which so many of her prelates had themselves received, and would gladly have imparted. Prove then, for example, ever so clearly, that the sentiments of the Catechismus of 1548 were not the sentiments of Cranmer, but elsewhere contradicted by him, in his own avowed writings—and you only strengthen the argument we urge, by showing that, at all events, the Catechismus was the only version of Reformed doctrine which the discerning archbishop thought the great body of the Church would admit. And a similar illustration may be used respecting the doctrine of the Church at a later period. Why were not greater concessions made to Puritan prejudices, on matters of discipline and doctrine, during the primacies of Parker and Grindal? Archbishop Parker seems to have had, originally, some sympathies with the foreign system, and Grindal had even refused to wear the surplice and the cap. The main obstacle to Puritan success was, that the great body of the clergy had never been to Geneva. They were thoroughly English, and thoroughly Catholic in feeling. And the comparatively small Puritan minority, though often favoured at Lambeth—and strong at the Royal Council-table—could never suppress the voice of the Church of England. What, again, hindered the incorporation of that tremendous list of dogmas, the “Lambeth Articles,” among the Articles of the Church of England? What but the felt impossibility of reconciling to such a step the great body of the English Church, notwithstanding the sentiments of the archbishop, the primate of all England—with his university to support him?

Nor is it unlikely that this “old Catholic leaven” in the Church acted as a strong check on the Erastian policy of the State; and emboldened even Grindal to remind the Queen that Church questions were spiritual matters, “depending not on her will, but on the will of God.” And so also at the Hampton Conferences; notwithstanding the courtliness of the bishops and others, the Church surrendered no principle, either to King James or the Puritans. Doubtless we ought to recognize, in this, the divine over-ruling hand; but we may also mark the outward means employed to accomplish the end. Catholic truth was preserved to England by the faithful ministrations of the great body of the clergy—a body too large to be set at nought by the State, and too strong to be coerced into novelties of doctrine.

A true expression of the doctrines of the Church, at any time, is best obtained by her decisions in synod: but when in troubled times this is denied—when the State, by an act of practical infidelity, refuses to allow the Church to exercise the power of

spiritual self-government, first given by her great Lord and Master, the Church's sentiments may in a measure be known by what is unattempted or unaccomplished. Or, if the State, by a refinement in persecution, should permit two or three ecclesiastics or others to assume powers which belong only to the whole Church in Convocation, it would be hard, in such a case, to impute to the Church the deeds of her oppressors. Remonstrance, if required, and passive resistance, whether successful or not, would in that case, more truly speak the Church's sentiments. Consequently, it is not to the few Church Divines at the Hampton Court Conference that we should of necessity ("*a parte ante*") defer, were it not that their sentiments acquired an "*ex post facto*" validity. There was no demur to their representation at the Conference of the Church's doctrine; and Bancroft, her chief representative, immediately afterwards, was raised to the primacy—a promotion which would seem to have been wholly impossible had his known severity against Puritanism been distasteful to any large portion of the ecclesiastical body.

On the whole, it will scarcely be questioned by any that the Puritans gained nothing at Hampton Court. The doctrine of the Church, whatever it had been, was not lowered there. Of the practical theology of this era we can need no better or more instructive specimen than the Sermon of holy Bishop Andrews, here reprinted. The faith "once delivered to the saints," as received by the Elizabethan Reformers, was transmitted to the divines of King James. Indeed, the sacramental teaching of the Church became practically elevated and fixed at the Conference, by the suppression of the irregularities of lay-baptism, and the addition of that part of the catechism which concerns the sacraments and declares them to be the channels of divine grace: This was done by Overall, a member of the Conference, and afterward Bishop of Norwich.

OXFORD,

I.

The Feast of St. James, 1839.

OF REMISSION OF SINS IN THE CHURCH;

AND CHIEFLY CONCERNING ABSOLUTIONS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. LAUNCELOT ANDREWS, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

On the accession of James I. (1603), another attempt was made to revise the English Liturgy—made not by the Church, but by a party in the Church. The Hampton Court Conference was held in the following year; and must be regarded as the beginning, rather than the settlement, of the Puritan questions there mooted. The most eminent Church divine of this era, beyond all question, is Andrews. A bishopric had twice been offered him in the previous reign; and he had, on the noblest ground, declined to accept a sacred dignity which was to be only held on unworthy conditions. He was the first translator of the Bible appointed at this Conference, which consisted of all parties in the Church. He was made Bishop of Chichester and Lord Almoner in the following year.

This Sermon, preached at Whitehall on the first Sunday after Easter, March 30, 1600, declares what were then taken to be sound Church of England views on the doctrine of Absolution: that they were not merely speculative notions, accidentally, or for once, defended in a time of controversy, may be seen in the Note at the end of this Tract.

CAMBRIDGE—*Feast of the Annunciation.*

B.

ST. JOHN XX. 23.

Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.

THEY be the words of our Saviour Christ to his apostles: a part of the first words which he spake to them at his epiphany, or first apparition after he rose from the dead. And they contain a commission by him granted to the apostles, which is the sum or contents of this verse.

Which commission is his first largess after his rising again; for at his first appearing to them, it pleased him not to come empty, but with a blessing, and to bestow on them, and on the

world by them, as the first-fruits of his resurrection, this commission—a part of the commission which the sinful world most of all stood in need of—for remission of sins.

To the granting whereof, he proceedeth, not without some solemnity or circumstance, well worthy to be remembered.

For first (v. 21), he saith, “As my Father sent me, so I send you”—which is their authorizing or giving them their credentials.

Secondly (v. 22), he doth “breathe upon them,” and withal inspireth them with the Holy Ghost—which is their enabling or furnishing thereto.

And, having so authorized and enabled them, now in this verse here he giveth them their commission, and thereby doth perfectly inaugurate them into this part of their office.

A commission is nothing else but the imparting of a power, which, before, they had not. First, therefore, he imparteth to them a power—a power over sins; over sins, either for the remitting or the retaining of them, as the persons shall be qualified.

And after, to this power he addeth a promise (as the lawyers term it) of ratihabition [ratification], that he will ratify and make it good, that his power shall accompany this power, and the lawful use of it in his Church for ever.

And very agreeably is this power now bestowed by him upon his resurrection. Not so conveniently before his death; because, till then, he had not “made his soul an offering for sin;” nor, till then, he had not shed his blood, without which there is no remission of sins. Therefore it was promised before, but not given till now.* Not before he was risen then. And again, no longer than till he was risen—not till he was ascended. First, to show that the remission of sins is the undivided and immediate effect of his death. Secondly, to show how much the world needed it, for which cause he would not withhold it, no, not so much as one day (for this was done on the very day of his resurrection). Thirdly, but especially, to set forth his great love and tender care over us, in this, that as soon as he had accomplished his own resurrection, even presently upon it, he sets in hand with ours, and beginneth the first part of it the very first day of his rising.

The Scripture maketh mention of a first and second death; and from them two, of a first and second resurrection. Both expressly set down in one verse: “Happy is he that hath his part in the first resurrection; for over such the second death

* Because it was convenient there should be [His—Christ’s] *solutio*, before there were [man’s] *absolutio*.

hath no power." Understanding by the first, the death of the soul by sin, and the rising thence to the life of grace [in baptism, see post. p. 118]: by the second, the death of the body by corruption, and the rising thence to the life of glory.

Christ truly is the Saviour of the whole man, both soul and body, from the first and second death; but beginning first with the first, that is, with sin, the death of the soul, and the rising from it. So is the method of divinity prescribed by himself, first, to cleanse that which is within (the soul), then that which is without (the body). And so is the method of physic—first, to cure the cause, and then the disease. Now, the cause, or as the apostle calleth it, "the sting of death is sin." Therefore, first to remove sin, and then death afterwards; for the cure of sin being performed, the other will follow of its own accord. As St. John telleth us, "He that hath his part in the first resurrection," shall not fail of it in the second. The first resurrection, then from sin is it which our Saviour Christ here goeth about, whereto there is no less power required than a divine power; for look what power is necessary to raise the dead body out of the dust—the very same every way is requisite to raise the dead soul out of sin. For which cause the "remission of sins" is an article of faith, no less than the "resurrection of the body;" for in very deed a resurrection it is, and so it is termed no less than that.

To the service and ministry of which divine work, a commission is here granted to the apostles. And first, they have here their sending from God the Father; their inspiring from God the Holy Ghost; their commission from God the Son, that being thus "sent from the Father," "by the power of the Holy Ghost," "in the person of Christ," they may perform the office or, as the apostle calleth it, the embassy of reconciling sinners unto God, to which they are appointed. And so much for the sum and dependence of this Scripture.

The points of special observation are three: first, the power that is granted; second, the matter or subject whereon the power is to be exercised; third, the promise of ratifying the exercise of that power.

I. The power itself; in which cometh first to be treated—

(1). What is meant by "remitting and retaining."

(2). After, in general, that there is a power to remit and retain—but first "to remit," and after "to retain."

(3). Then, in particular, of that power, as it is set down in both words, "ye shall remit," and "they are remitted."

II. The matter or subject; which is also two ways to be considered, either,

(1). As it is sin in itself which is the matter at large, or

(2). As it is the sin of some persons (for it is not “whatsoever sins,” but “whosoever”) which is the immediate or proper matter of this power.

III. The ratifying or promise of concurrence, to assure the conscience of the sinner of the certainty and efficacy of the Church’s act, that what the apostles do “in the person of Christ,” by the instinct of the Holy Ghost, he that “sent them” will certainly make good and effectual from heaven.

And of these three in order.

The terms of “remitting” and “retaining” may be taken many ways. To the end, then, that we may the more clearly conceive that which shall be said, it will be expedient that first of all we understand in what sense especially, and according to what resemblance, those terms are to be taken. This may we best do out of our Saviour Christ’s own commission; for this of the apostles is nothing else but a branch out of his, which he himself (as man) had here “upon earth.” For as man he himself was “sent,” and was “anointed with the Spirit,” and proceeded by commission. His commission we find Luke iv., which he himself read in the synagogue at Nazareth, at his first entering on it, which is originally recorded Isaiah lxi., wherein, among others, this power is one “to (preach, ἀφῆσιν that is) remission (as it is turned here, or deliverance,” as it turned there—but the word is one in both places), and that respectively “to captives,” and (as it followeth in that place of Isaiah) “to them that are bound, the opening of the prison.”

Which very term (of “captives,” or “such as are in prison”) doth open unto us with what reference or respect this term of “remitting,” or letting go, is to be conceived. And as it was in his, so must it be understood here in this, since this is but derived from that of Christ.

The mind of the Holy Ghost, then, as in other places, by diverse other resemblances, so in this here is to compare the sinner’s case to the estate of a person imprisoned. And, indeed, whoso well weigheth the place, it cannot well be taken otherwise. For not only here, but elsewhere, where this power is expressed, it seemeth ever to be with reference, as it were, to parties committed. The very term of “the keys” wherein it was promised, and wherein it is most usually delivered—the terms of opening and shutting seem to have relation, as it were, to the prison gate—the terms of binding and loosing, as it were, to the fetters or bonds—and these here, of letting forth, or still detaining, all and every of them, seem to have an evident relation to a prisoner’s estate, as if sin were a prison, and the case of sinners like theirs that are shut up.

Verily, as sin at the first in committing seemeth sweet, so that men cannot be got to “spit it out,” saith Job, but “hold it close under their tongues” till they have “swallowed it down” (ch. xx. 12), but after it is committed, the sinner findeth then that it is “an evil thing and a bitter to have forsaken the Lord,” saith the prophet—that it turneth to a bitter and cholerick matter of which there breedeth a “worm which never leaveth gnawing—” even so doth sin at the first also seem a matter of liberty; for a liberty it is not to be restrained—not to be, as the apostle speaketh, committed to Moses to be kept and “shut up under the law”—not to be forbidden *any fruit* (under which very term the serpent did persuade it); but when it was done and past, then shall a man feel a pinching or straightness in his soul, termed by the apostle “anguish”* (Rom. ii. 9), which properly signifieth the pain which they suffer that are shut up in a narrow room or some place of little ease.

So speaketh Solomon of sin, “His own wickedness shall attack the sinner, and he shall be holden or pinioned with the cords of his own sin.” (Proverbs v. 22.) So St. Peter to Simon Magus, “I perceive thou art (to express the former resemblance) in the gall of bitterness, and (to express the latter) in the bond of iniquity.” And St. Paul, that sinners, instead of having Moses to their keeper, become the “devil’s captives,” and are of him holden, and taken at his will and pleasure. Truly some have felt as much as I spake of, and have in pregnant terms complained of it. “I am so fast in prison (saith David) that I cannot get out;” and “Bring my soul out of prison and I will praise thee;” and “I will run the way of thy commandments when thou shalt set my heart at liberty.” Peradventure all feel not this presently as soon as they have sinned, nor, it may be, a good while after. So God told Cain at the beginning, his “sin shall lie at the door”—that is, while he kept within, he should not be troubled with it perhaps, but at his coming forth it should certainly attack him. “But (saith Moses) let every one that sinneth be sure that his sin at last will find him out,” for he shall no sooner be under arrest of any trouble, sickness, cross, or calamity, but he shall be shut into his “anguish” (as a “narrow place”), and feel it presently. As the brethren of Joseph for very many years after that of envy, and without all pity, sold him to be a bond-servant, seemed at liberty, no sooner fell they into danger and displeasure in a strange country, but it came to mind, and they were served with it straightway. Even as in Job it is said, “The sins of our youth” shall let us go up and

* στενοχωρια.

down quietly all our youth-time, but when we come to years, we shall feel them pinch us "in our very bones." (Ch. xx. 11).

Yea, though many, even then when they feel this straightness in their souls, make means to put it away for the time, and seem merry and light enough (as many times prisoners be in the gaol, till the very day of the assizes come), yet when it is come to that, that "the Judge standeth before the door," when the terror of death cometh, and with it "a fearful expectation of judgment," then certainly, then without all doubt, the "anguish" St. Paul speaketh of shall be "upon every soul of every one that doeth evil." Then there is no man never so wicked that with his good will would die in his sins, but would have them released while he is yet in the way. Then we seek help at such Scriptures as this, and call for the persons to whom this commission belongeth. And those whom we have gone by seven years together, and never said a word to about it, then we are content to speak with, when the counsel and direction they give we are scarce able to receive, and much less to put in practice. As if all our lifetime we believed the *permission* of sins, as if that were the article of our faith all our life long, and the article of "*remission* of sins" never till the point of death.

And this may serve shortly to set forth unto us this prison of the soul, which if any conceive not by that which hath been said, I must say with the prophet to them, that sure there is such a thing, and that at their latter end (I wish before, but sure then) they shall very plainly understand that such a thing there is.

But now they that have either felt or believed that such an imprisonment there is will be glad to hear that there is a power whereby they may be enlarged. And this very tidings in general, that there is a remission, that men may have deliverance from these fetters, this prison, this straightness or anguish of the soul, must needs be very acceptable and welcome tidings to them. For which very point (even that there is a remission) what thanks are we eternally bound to render unto God. For I tell you, the angels never found the like. "For the angels which kept not their first estate, hath he reserved in everlasting chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day." Their chains everlasting, their imprisonment perpetual! No commission to be sued for them!—no remission for them! But with man it is not so. To him "deliverance," to him "loosing of the chains," to him "opening of the prison," is promised. For his sins a commission is granted out; his sins have a remission. This is a high and special privilege of our nature, to be had by us in an everlasting thankful remembrance. So that no man

needeth now abruptly to say with those in Jeremiah (ch. ii. 25), “we are desperate now,” we shall never be forgiven, let us now do what we list. No, but as it is said in Ezra—“Though we have grievously sinned, yet there is hope” for all that (ch. x. 2); and as in Ezekiel, that we may so use the matter that “our sins shall not be our destruction.” Which very point is both an especial stay of our hope, and a principal means of manifesting unto us the great goodness of God.

Which goodness of God, as it doth show forth itself in this, first (that such a power there is), so doth it secondly, and no less in the order that (when both acts are mentioned, as well retaining as remitting) he placeth the power of remitting first. Which very sorting of them in that order doth plainly show unto us whereunto God of his goodness is most inclinable, and which of them it is, that is the principal in his intent. That to remit is more proper to him, and that he is more ready to it, and that it is first; first in his purpose, first in his grant, and that to the other he cometh but secondarily, but by occasion, when the former cannot take place. For, of remitting sin, he taketh the ground from himself, and not from any other, and therefore that more naturally; but of retaining it, the cause is ministered from us, even from our hardness, and heart that cannot repent. And as himself doth use this power, so giveth he it to them, “to edification, and not to destruction.” I say, not first or principally to destruction, nor of any, save only of the wilful impenitent sinner. Thus much of the remitting and retaining in general, and of their place and order. Now of the power itself in particular.

Of this power there is here in my text twice mention, one in “Ye shall remit,” and again in “They are remitted;” which two words [phrases] do plainly lead us to two acts; of which two acts, by good consequence, are inferred two powers; which two powers, though they be concurrent to one end, yet are they distinct in themselves—distinct in person, for “Ye shall remit” is the second person, and meant of the apostles, and “They are remitted” is the third person, and meant of God himself. And as distinct in person, so distinct in place; for the one is exercised in earth, which is the apostles’, the other in heaven, which is God’s. “Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”

Now where two powers are, and one of them in God, the other must needs be subordinate, and derived from it. For two beginnings there are not. Therefore none other from whence it can proceed but from God, and from the power in him alone.

Of these two, then, “They are remitted,” though latter in

place, yet indeed is by nature and order first, and from it doth proceed the other, "Ye remit," which, howsoever in the sentence it stand before it, yet without all question it is derived from it, and after it. So that thus the case stands between them. That which is God's power is the primitive or original, that which is the apostles' power is merely derived; that in God sovereign, this in the apostles dependent; in him only, absolute, in them delegate; in him imperial, in them ministerial.

The power of remitting sin is originally in God, and in God alone. And in Christ our Saviour, by means of the union of the Godhead and manhood into one person, by virtue whereof "the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins upon earth." This power being thus solely invested in God, he might, without wrong to any, have retained and kept to himself, and without means of word or sacrament, and without ministers, either apostles or others, have exercised immediately by himself from heaven. But we should then have said of the remission of sins, saith St. Paul, "who shall go up to heaven for it, and fetch it thence? for which cause (saith he) the righteousness of faith speaketh thus—Say not so in thy heart; the word shall be near thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and this is the word of faith which we preach."

Partly this, that there should be no such difficulty to shake our faith, as once to imagine to fetch Christ from heaven for the remission of our sins. Partly also, because Christ (to whom alone this commission was originally granted), having "ordained himself a body," would work by bodily things, and having taken the nature of a man upon him, would honour the nature he had so taken. For these causes, that which was his and his alone he vouchsafed to impart, and out of his commission to grant a commission, and thereby to associate them to himself (it is his own word by the prophet), and to make them "workers together with him" (as the apostle speaketh) to the work of salvation, both of themselves and others.

From God then it is derived—from God and to men. To men, and not to angels. And this I take to be a second prerogative of our nature. That an angel must give order to Cornelius to "send to Joppa for one Simon, to speak words to him, by which he and his household should be saved;" but the angel must not be the doer of it. That not to angels, but to men, is committed this office or embassy of reconciliation. And that which is yet more to "sinful men," for so is the truth, and so themselves confess it: St. Peter, "Go from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man;" St. James, "In many things we offend all" (putting himself in the number); and lest we should think

it to be but their modesty) St. John speaketh plainly, "If we say we have no sin (what then? not we are proud, and there is no humility in us, but) we are liars, and there is no truth in us."

And this is that which is wonderful in this point, that St. Paul, who confesseth himself a sinner, and a "chief sinner," the same, concerning another sinner (the incestuous Corinthian), "I forgive it him (saith he) in the person of Christ."

Now if we ask to what men? the text is plain. They to whom Christ said this, "Ye shall remit," were the apostles. In the apostles (that we may come nearer yet) we find three capacities, as we may term them. First, as Christians in general; secondly, as preachers, priests, or ministers—more special; thirdly, as those twelve persons whom, in strict propriety of speech, we term the apostles. Some things that Christ spake to them he spake to them as representing the whole company of Christians; as his "Watch ye." Some things to them not as Christians, but as preachers or priests; as his "Go preach the Gospel," and his "Do this" (Luke xxii. 19), which no man thinketh all Christians may do.* And some things to themselves personally; as that he had appointed them "witnesses of his miracles and resurrection," which cannot be applied but to them, and them in person. It remaineth, we enquire, in which of these three capacities Christ imparteth to them this commission.

Not as to apostles properly—that is, this was no personal privilege to be in them and to die with them, that they should only execute it for a time, and none ever after them. God forbid we should so think it! For this power being more than needful for the world (as in the beginning it was said), it was not to be either personal or for a time. Otherwise those persons dying, and those times determining, they in the ages following (as we now in this) that should light into this prison or captivity of sin, how could they or we receive any benefit by it? Of nature it is said by the heathen philosopher, that it doth neither "abound in superfluities, nor be deficient in necessities." God forbid! but we should ascribe as much to God at the least that neither he would ordain a power superfluous or more than needed, or else, it being needful, would appropriate it unto one age, and leave all other destitute of it! And not, either, as all writers, both new and old, take it, continue it successively to the

* Do not many nominal Churchmen now seem to think what "no man thought" in holy Bishop Andrews' days? "Pastoral Aids," distinct from "pastors" canonically "sent," were no part of the old Church plan.

world's end? And as not proper to the apostles' persons, so neither common to all Christians in general, nor in the persons of all Christians conveyed to them. Which thing the very circumstances of the text do evince. For he "sent" them first, and after "inspired" them; and after both these gave them the commission. Now all Christians are not so "sent," nor all the Christians inspired with the "grace or gift" of the Spirit that they were here. Consequently, it was not intended to the whole society of Christians. Yea, I add, that for as much as these two (both these two) must go before it. The "sending" and gift of the Spirit, that though God inspire some laymen, if I may have leave so to term them, with very special graces of knowledge to this end; yet inasmuch as they have not the former of "sending," it agreeth not to them, neither may they exercise it until they be sent—that is, until they have their calling thereunto.

It being then neither personal nor peculiar to them as apostles, nor again common to all as Christians, it must needs be committed to them as ministers, priests, or preachers; and, consequently, to those that in that office and function do succeed them, to whom, and by whom, this commission is still continued. Neither are they that are ordained or instituted to that calling,* ordained or instituted by any other words or verse than this. Yet not so that absolutely without them God cannot bestow it on whom or when he pleaseth, or that he is bound to this means only, and cannot work without it. For the grace of God is not bound but free, and can work without means either of word or sacrament; and, as without means, so without ministers, how and when to him seemeth good. But speaking of that which is proper and ordinary, in the course by him established, this is an ecclesiastical act, committed as the residue of "the ministry of reconciliation" to ecclesiastical persons. And if at any time he vouchsafe it by others that are not such, they be in that case ministers by necessity; but by office not so.

Now as by committing this power, God doth not deprive or bereave himself of it (for there is his "They are remitted" still, and that, chief sovereign and absolute): so on the other side, where God proceedeth by the Church's act, as ordinarily he doth, it being his own ordinance; there, whosoever will be partaker of the Church's act, must be partaker of it by the apostles' means; there doth the ministerial power "Ye remit" concur in its order and place, and there runneth still a correspondence between both; there doth God associate his ministers, and

* See Note I. at the end of this Tract.

maketh them “workers together with him; there have they their parts in this work, and cannot be excluded; no more in this than the other acts and parts of their function. And to exclude them is (after a sort) to wring “the keys” out of their hands to whom Christ hath given them—is to cancel and make void this clause of “Ye shall remit,” as if it were no part of the sentence; to account all this solemn sending and inspiring as if it were an idle and fruitless ceremony; which, if it may not be admitted, then sure it is, they have their part and concurrence in this work, as in the rest of “the ministry of reconciliation.”

Neither is this a new or strange thing. From the beginning it was so. “Under the law of nature (saith Elihu, in Job, speaking of one for his sins in God’s prison) if there be with him an ambassador, commissioner, or interpreter (not any whosoever, but) one among a thousand, to show unto him his righteousness; then God shall have mercy upon him, and say, Let him go, for I have received a propitiation.” Under Moses, it is certain, the “covenant of life and peace was made with Levi,” and at the sacrifices for sin he was ever a party. Under the prophets it pleased God to use this concurrence towards David himself: Nathan the prophet saying unto him, “The Lord hath put away thy sin.”

Which course so established by God, till Christ should come (for neither covenant nor priesthood was to endure any longer), was by Christ re-established anew in the Church, in that calling to whom he had “committed the word of reconciliation.” Neither are we (the ordinance of God thus standing) to rend off one part of the sentence. There are here expressed three persons: first, the person of the sinner in “whosoever” sins: secondly, of God, in “They are remitted;” thirdly, of the priest, in “Ye shall remit.” Three are expressed: and where three are expressed, three are required; and where three are required, two are not enough. It is St. Augustine that thus speaketh of this ecclesiastical act in his time: “Let no man say to himself, ‘I repent secretly,’ ‘I repent before God,’ ‘God that pardoneth me, knoweth, because I repent in my heart.’ Else without cause hath it been said, ‘What ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven!’ Else without cause ‘the keys’ are given to the Church of God. We make void the Gospel of God. We frustrate the words of Christ!” Which may suffice for the distinguishing of these two powers; the deriving of the one from whom and to whom; the continuance and concurrence of them.

The remission of sins, as it is from God only, so is it by the death and blood-shedding of Christ alone; but, for the applying of this unto us, there are diverse means established. There is, saith St. Peter, “variety of graces,” whereof we are made

the disposers. Now, all and every of these means working to the remission of sins (which is the first and greatest benefit, our Saviour Christ hath obtained for us), it resteth that we further enquire what that means is in particular, which is here imparted. For sure it is that besides this there are diverse acts instituted by God, and executed by us, which all tend to the “remission of sins.”

1. In the institution of baptism there is a power to that end. “Be baptized every one of you for the *remission of sins*” (saith St. Peter to three thousand at once). “Arise and be baptized (saith Ananias to St. Paul), and *wash away thy sins*.” And to be short, “I believe in one baptism for the remission of sins,” saith the Nicene Creed.

2. Again, there is also another power for the remission of sins in the institution of the holy Eucharist. The words are exceeding plain—“This is my blood of the New Testament for the *remission of sins*.”

3. Besides, in *the word* itself, there is a like power ordained. “Now are you *clean*,” saith Christ (no doubt from their sins) “through the word which I have spoken unto you.” And the very name giveth as much, that it is entitled “*the word* of reconciliation.”

4. Further there is to the same effect a power in *prayer* ; and that in the priest’s prayer. “Call for the priests,” saith the Apostle, “and let *them* pray for the sick person, and if he have committed sin, it *shall be forgiven* him.”

All and every of these are acts for the “remission of sins ;” and in all and every of these is the person of the minister required, and they cannot be dispatched without him.

But the ceremonies and circumstances that here I find used, prevail with me to think that there is somewhat here imparted to them that was not before. For it carrieth no likelihood, that our Saviour bestowing on them nothing here, but that which before he had, would use so much solemnity, so diverse and new circumstances, no new or diverse grace being here communicated.

1. Now for *baptism*, it appeareth plainly that the apostles baptized, in a manner from the beginning ; which I make no question they did not without a commission.

2. And for the power of administering *the holy Sacrament* [of the b. Eucharist], it was granted expressly to them by “this do” —*before* His passion.

3. The like may we say of the power of *preaching*, which was given them long before ; even when He “sent them,” and “commanded them to preach the kingdom of God,” which was done before *this* power was promised, which here is bestowed, as

will evidently appear, the one being given (St. Matt. x.), the other, after, promised (St. Matt. xvi.).

4. Neither can it be meant of *prayer*. There is no partition in prayer. "Prayers and supplications are to be made for *all* men." But here is a plain partition. There is, "*whose* sins are remitted, and whose sins are retained."

If, then, this new ceremony and solemn manner of proceeding in this, are able to persuade any, it was some new power that here was conferred, and not those which before had been (though there be those that apply this, some to one, and others to all of them). I take it to be a power distinct from the former, and (not to hold you long) to be the accomplishment of the promise made (St. Matt. xvi. 19) of the power of "the keys," which here in this place and in these words is fulfilled; and have therein for me the joint consent of the Fathers. Which being a different power in itself, is that which we call the act or benefit of *absolution*, in which (as in the rest) there is, in the due time and place of it, an use for the remission of sins Whereunto our Saviour Christ, by his sending them, doth institute them and give them the key of authority: and by breathing on them, and inspiring them, doth enable them, and give them the key of knowledge to do it well; and having bestowed both these upon them as the "stewards of his house," doth last of all deliver them their commission to do it, having so enabled them and authorized them as before. So much for *the power*.

II. Every power is not every where to be exercised, nor upon every matter, but each power hath his proper subject. The matter or subject whereon this power is to be exercised is sin. To be considered first in itself, as the matter at large; and then as qualified with the person (for it is "*whosoever*," and not "*whatsoever*" sins), as the nearer and more proper subject.

First then, the subject is sins. Sins in themselves, no ways restrained or limited; no sins at all, either for number or greatness, being excepted.

Not for number. For Christ teaching us, that we ourselves should "forgive until seventy times seven times," doth thereby after a sort give us to understand that he will not stick with us for the like number in ours. For God forbid we should imagine he taught us to be more merciful, or of greater perfection than he will be himself. That number amounteth to ten jubilees of pardon; for so many sins may we then hope for pardon at his hands. If those be not enough, we have example of one whose "sins were more in number than the hairs of his head," and of another whose were "more than the sands of the sea;" both which give us hope, for they both obtained pardon.

But that which followeth in the place of St. Matthew mak et

both parts plain. For there, a debt is remitted, not only of five hundred (as St. Luke, vii.), but of ten thousand, and those (not as in [S.] Luke pence, but) talents ; a great and huge sum, yet for that hath He remission in store ! So that no man shall need to say, his sin is greater than can be remitted, as Cain did, since that assertion is convinced to be erroneous ; for his sin may be forgiven that slew Abel, though his brother, seeing St. Peter saith that theirs was not greater than might be forgiven that slew the Son of God. For no man but will conceive that the betraying and murdering Jesus Christ was a far more heinous offence than that of Abel's killing ; but *that* might (saith St. Peter), therefore this much more may be forgiven. And to end this point, whereas it is affirmed, and that most truly, by the Apostle, that "the weakness of God is stronger than men," if there were any sin greater than could be remitted, the weakness of man (for of that cometh sin) should be stronger than God, which neither religion nor reason will admit. In respect of the sin itself, therefore, there is no exception.

But because it is not "whatsoever sins" but "whosoever," it sheweth that in the act of remission we are to respect not the sin so much as the person. So that, though all sins may be remitted, yet not to all persons, but to a *quorum*, as we see. For, there is another *quorum*, whose sins are retained ; so that this limiteth the former, and sheweth indeed what is the immediate subject of this power committed.

Our Saviour Christ himself, at the reading of his commission (whereof this is a branch), in effect expresth as much. For he telleth them, "There were many lepers in the days of Elisha, and many widows in the days of Elias, yet none cleansed but Naaman, nor to none was Elias sent but to the widow of Sarepta." And so the case standeth here. Many sinners there be, and many sins may be remitted, but not to any except they be of this *quorum*. In which point there is a special use of the key of knowledge to direct to whom, and to whom not, since it is not, but with advice to be applied, nor "hands hastily to be laid on any man" (as the apostle testifieth), which place is referred by the ancient writers [SS. Cyprian, Augustin, and others] to the act of absolution, and the circumstance of the place giveth no less. But discretion is to be used in applying of comfort, counsel, and the benefit of absolution. Whereby it falleth out sometimes that the very same sins to some may be remitted, being of the *quorum*, that to some others may not, that are out of it.

To see, then, a little into this qualification, that thereby we may discern who be of either *quorum*. The conditions to be required to be of the *quorum* whose sins are remitted are two.

First, that the party be within the house and family whereto those keys belong, that is, be a member of the Church, be a faithful believing Christian. In the law the “propitiatory” was annexed to the ark, and could not be severed from it, to show that they must have hold of the ark, that is, be of the number of the people of God, or else could they not be partakers of the propitiation for their sins. So saith the psalmist in the psalm of the Church, “All my fresh springs shall be in thee”—all the conduit-pipes of my spiritual graces are conveyed into thee, and are no where else to be had. And, namely, of this benefit of remission of sins, “Thou hast (saith he), O Lord, been gracious unto thy land,” &c., “Thou hast forgiven all their iniquity and covered their sin.” But the prophet Isaiah most plainly—“The people which dwelleth in her (that is, the Church), they shall have their iniquity forgiven.” And to end this point, the angel, when he interpreteth the name of Jesus, extendeth it no further than thus, that “He shall save his people from their sins.” To them is the benefit of remission of sins entailed and limited. It is the “lot of the saints” and the “gift of the Church;” and they that are of this number have their certain hope thereof: they that are out of it pertain to the second sort of them that have their sins retained. The power of the keys reacheth not to them. “What have I to do with them that are without (saith the apostle), them that are without God shall judge.” Therefore, all Pagans, infidels, Jews, and Turks are without the compass of this *quorum*; for “whoso believeth not in Christ—whoso is not a faithful Christian—shall die in his sins.”

But are all that are within this house thereby partakers of this remission? Is there nothing else required? Yes, indeed, there is yet another condition requisite, whereby many are cut off, that are within the *quorum* of the Church; and that is, as our Saviour, Christ himself setteth it down, repentance. For he willeth “repentance and remission of sins to be preached in his name;” both these, but repentance first, and then remission of sins to follow after. So that the sinner that is a member of the Church, if he want this, is not of the former but of the latter *quorum*.

To repentance, then, go two things (as heretofore hath been entreated more at large). To insist upon the resemblance here made—first, that he feel his chains and imprisonment, and be grieved with them, and, therefore, would gladly be let loose, and discharged from them. And no otherwise doth our Saviour Christ proclaim it, that none should come to him but such as are “weary and heavy laden;” for he who wishes to be relieved

feels his burden, and he who wishes to be loosed feels his bonds. And no reason there is, means should be made for his enlargement, that is well enough already, and had rather be where he is than at liberty abroad.

Out of which groweth this division of sinners which make this double *quorum*. For there are sinners that are weary of their commitment, and would gladly be enlarged. Such as he was, "Bring my soul out of prison that I may praise thee;" and as he, "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?" And to these belongeth the first clause of remission, even to them that are weary of their durance, and that desire and sue for deliverance.

Again, there are sinners which care not greatly for their present estate, but are, as it were, without sense of their misery. The prison grieveth them not; being in it, they reckon themselves well enough, either because they have drunken of the slumbering cup which is the very dregs of God's wrath, having "their hearts as brawn," and "their consciences seared with a hot iron," that is, as the apostle doth interpret it, "being past all feeling," or remorse of sin; or else a worse sort of people, that not only have no sense of their present wretched case, but do even take delight and pleasure in the place, and (to choose) will not be out of it. "Who rejoice to do evil, and delight in the frowardness of the wicked;" that scorn the denouncing of God's judgments, and when they "hear the words of this curse, absolve themselves, and say, 'I shall have peace,'" and do full well for all that. "Of such (saith Moses) let not God be merciful unto them!" Pity it is that they should be let go, or the key once turned to let them out! Sense and sorrow is required of their restraint, and an earnest desire of enlargement, else they pertain not to the first, but to the latter *quorum*.

In which very point (of sorrow for sin) there is an especial good use of the key of knowledge for counsel and direction. (1.) For inasmuch as repentance itself is an act of corrective justice, and to repent is "to do judgment" (as the prophet) and "to judge ourselves," as the apostle calleth it. (2.) To which then belongeth not only a sentence, but also a revenge or punishment. (2 Cor. vii. 11.) And because it is not a fruitless repentance which must serve the turn, but it must have fruits (saith St. John Baptist) and "fruits worthy of repentance;" that is, more plainly (as St. Paul saith he was charged to preach even from heaven), that men must not only "repent and turn to God, but also do works worthy of repentance." (3.) And for that the works of repentance, all of them are not meet and suitable to every sin; but as the sins are diverse, so are the works to be also. (4.) For that also, as a man may go too far in them

(as appeareth in the case of the Corinthian), so may one fall too short, as appeareth in the case of Miriam, and a proportion or analogy is to be kept according as the case of the sin requireth. In both these to advise both what works are meet, and also what measure is to be kept, the key of knowledge will help to direct, and we may have use of it, if we mean to use it, to that end.

The other condition which must be joined to the former, is an unfeigned purpose and endeavour ourselves to remit or let go those sins which we would have by God remitted. For it is not enough to be sorry for sin past, or to seek repentance—no, though it be “with tears;”—this will not make us of the first *quorum*, if there be nothing but this—if there be in our hearts a purpose ourselves to retain and hold fast our old sin still. Esau “lift up his voice with a great cry, and bitter out of measure, and wept,” yet even at the same time vowed in his heart, so soon as his father was dead, to make away with his brother; and this purpose of mind, for all his bitter crying and tears, cast him into the latter *quorum*, and made his sins to be retained still. And such is the case of them that would be let go out of prison, but would have liberty to go in and out still to visit the company there when and as often as they list. So do not the saints that be of the first *quorum*, to whom God as he “speaketh peace,” so he speaketh this too, “that they turn not” thither again—“that they fall not again to their former folly.”

But these latter would have their sins let go by God, but themselves would not let them go, but kept fast their end still. They would “as to the guilt” hear that saying from Christ’s mouth, “Thy sins are forgiven thee,” but “as to the deed,” would not willingly hear that other, “Go and sin no more.” But we must be willing to hear them both; willing to have our sins remitted by God, and willing, too (ourselves), to remit our sinning, or from thenceforth “*remisius peccare*,” to sin more remissly, and nothing so licentiously as before. To the former sorrow, sentence, and revenge, we must, saith St. Paul, join “a desire;” and to that desire, an endeavour; and that such an endeavour as may be able to allege for itself an honest defence, that we have used all good means to do that which on our part is to be performed, that we may be of the first *quorum*.

In which point, no less than the former, there may be use of the key of knowledge, to advise and to direct ourselves, no less in the cure of sin than in the sorrow for it. They in the second of the Acts, which were “pricked in their hearts,” knew of themselves that somewhat they should do (as by their question appeareth), but what it was they should do they knew not. Sometimes men have good minds, but know not which way to turn them, or set themselves about it. Sometimes they are

scrupulous and doubtful whether they do as they should, because one may favour himself too much, and be over-partial in his own case, neither so careful to use the means to do good, nor to avoid the occasions of evil as he ought. Wherein it were good for men to make sure work, and to be fully resolved. For most usual it is for men, at their ends, to doubt not of the power of remitting of sins, but of their own disposition to receive it, and whether they have ordered the matter so that they be within the compass of God's effectual calling, or, as the text is, of the *quorum* to whom it belongeth. So much for the matter or subject whereto this power is to be applied.

And here I should now speak somewhat of the applying or use of it ; but the time hath overtaken me, and will not permit it. Now only a word of the third part, of the efficacy, or God's ratification, and so an end.

III. "Wherein God, willing more abundantly to show to them that be partakers of it, the stableness of his counsel," he hath penned it exceedingly effectually, and indeed strangely to them that deeply consider of it, which he hath so done, to the end that thereby such poor sinners as shall be partakers of it might have "strong consolation" and perfect assurance, not to waver in the "hope which is set before them."

And to that end, even for comfort, I will only point at four things in the inditing of it, all expressing the efficacy of it in more than common manner.

1. The *order*, in this, that "Ye shall remit," standeth first, and "They are remitted" second. It is St. Chrysostom's note, that it beginneth in earth, and that heaven followeth after. So that, whereas in prayer and other parts of religion, it is "as in heaven, so in earth," here it is "as in earth, so in heaven." "Heaven (saith he) takes the primary authority of judging from earth. For the Judge sitteth in the earth ; the Lord followeth the servant, and whatsoever the latter may have judged below, he approves above."

2. The *time*, in this, that it is "They are remitted" in present tense ; there is no delay between, no deferring or holding in suspense, but the absolution pronounced "upon earth," presently "they are remitted," that he saith not, hereafter they shall be, but they *are* already remitted.

3. The *manner*, in setting down of the two words. For it is so delivered by Christ, as if he were content it should be accounted their act, and that the apostles were the agents in it, and himself but the patient, and suffered it to be done. For the apostles' part is delivered in the active, "Ye remit," and his own in the passive, "They are remitted."

4. The *certainty*, which [appeareth] in the identity of the

word, in not changing the word, but keeping the selfsame in both parts. For Christ hath not thus indited it—"whose sins ye wish, or ye pray for," or "whose sins ye declare to be remitted," but "whose sins ye remit," using no other word in the apostles than he useth in his own.

And to all these, in St. Matthew, he addeth his solemn protestation of "Verily, Verily," or "Amen, Amen," that so it is, and shall be. And all to certify us, that he fully meaneth with effect to ratify in heaven that is done in earth, to the sure and steadfast comfort of them that shall partake it.—AMEN !

NOTES.

I.

THE form of ordaining priests in the Church of England is—

"Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest of the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven ; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained."

The following is a part of the exhortation in the Communion office—

"If there be any of you who.....cannot quiet his conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's word, and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's holy word, he may receive the benefit of absolution."

II.

The three absolutions of the Church of England are—

1. The daily absolution for a general congregation of Christians :—

"Almighty God.....who hath given power and commandment to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins ; he pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel."

2. The special absolution at the holy Eucharist, to a more select body of Christians :—

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him, have mercy upon you ; pardon and deliver you from all your sins ; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness ; and bring you to everlasting life ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

3. The private absolution to the confessing penitent, delivered personally :—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy

forgive thee thine offences : and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*"

III.

How deeply the mind of this holy Bishop Andrews was imbued with the old theology of the primitive times, may, perhaps, be fully seen only in his "Manual of Devotions." In which blessed book we see the man, in his uncontroversial moments, "pouring out his heart before God." He was particularly distinguished for his defence of the royal prerogative against Bellarmine ; but how soberly he defended it may be seen by his prayer (Manual, p. 161) against the prevalent adulation of the monarch, "The deifying of kings." But, except as showing his extreme jealousy of Erastianism, this is not as important as other striking petitions, such as the following, which show the man, the prelate, the Christian ; who confessedly (by the admission of all parties, from Laud, who styled him the "Light of the Christian world," down to Milton, who wrote his elegy) holds the first rank among English divines and doctors.

He specially thanks God (p. 154), "That thou hast given me good hope for the remission of my sins by repentance, by the power of the holy keys, and of the sacraments administered in thy Church !"

P. 96, he prays, "Be mindful, O Lord, of those who devote their lives to virginity, abstinence, and religious seclusion."

P. 142, I believe that the spirit imparteth grace in his holy mysteries : O grant that I receive not his grace, nor the hope of his blessed sacraments in vain."

Nor can we forbear adding one more :—

"Let us pray for the Catholic Church,
For all the Churches throughout the world ;
For their truth, unity, and stability !
That love may abound and truth flourish
In them all !

"Let us pray for our own Church,
That whatsoever is deficient in it
May be supplied !
And whatsoever is wrong
May be corrected !
That all heresies, schisms, and offences,
Both public and private, may be removed !"

P. 218, *Peter Hall's Edition.* 1830.

At the Hampton Court Conference this learned and holy man was placed first on the list of those appointed to revise our translation of the Bible. He was revered as a pillar of the English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. ; and it has been eloquently said of him, by one whose praise sounds to us scarcely overcharged—

"If any ever merited to be
The universal bishop, this was he."

IV.

"Sin is not helped but by being assured of pardon. It resteth, therefore, to be considered what warrant we have concerning forgiveness, when the sentence of man absolveth us from sin committed against God. At the words of our Saviour, saying to the sick of the palsy, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee,' exception was taken by the Scribes, who secretly reasoned against him, 'Is any able to forgive sins but only God?' Whereupon they condemned his speech as blasphemy; the rest, which believed him to be a prophet sent from God, saw no cause wherefore he might not as lawfully say, and as truly, to whomsoever amongst them, 'God hath taken away thy sins,' as Nathan (they all knew) had used the very like speech; to whom David did not, therefore, impute blasphemy, but embraced, as became him, the words of truth with joy and reverence.

"Now there is no controversy; but as God in that special case did authorize Nathan, so Christ more generally his apostles, and the ministers of his word in his name, to absolve sinners. Their power being equal, all the difference between them can be but only this; that whereas the one had but prophetic evidence, the other have the certainty partly of faith, and partly of human experience, whereupon to ground their sentence; faith, to assure them of God's most gracious pardon in heaven unto all penitents; and touching the sincerity of each particular party's repentance, as much as outward sensible tokens or signs can warrant."—*Hooker's Eccle. Pol.*, book vi., chap. vi. 1.

"The priest's proper power of absolving—that is, of pardoning (which is in no ease communicable to any man who is not consecrated to the ministry), is a giving the penitent the means of eternal pardon: the admitting him to the sacraments of the Church, and the peace and communion of the faithful; because that is the only way really to attain pardon of God; there being in ordinary no way to heaven but by serving God in the way which he has commanded us by his Son—that is, in the way of the Church, which is his body, whereof he is prince and head. The priest is the minister of holy things. He does that by his ministry which God effects by real dispensation; and as he gives the Spirit, not by authority and proper efflux, but by assisting and dispensing those rites and promoting those graces which are certain dispositions to the receiving of him; just so he gives pardon: not as a king does it, nor yet as a messenger—that is, not by way of authority and real donation, nor yet only by declaration, but as a physician gives health—that is, he gives the remedy which God appoints: and if he does so, and God blesses the medicine, the person recovers, and God gives the health."—*Jeremy Taylor's Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, chap. x., sect. 4. § 51.

".....The course which our Church serveth here prescribeth for the pardon of our daily offences being put in practice, what can be more just, more due, than to declare that forgiveness and absolution which those that are (as they pretend to be) penitent for their sins do obtain? What more comfortable than to hear the news of it from his mouth by whom the Church ministereth these offices?"—*A Note written in*

Bishop Cosin's own hand, in a MS., on the Absolution in the Office for Morning Prayer.

And because he speaks it authoritative, in the name of Christ and his Church, he must not kneel, but stand up. For authority of absolution, see Ezek. xxxiii. 12, Job xxxiii. 13, Num. vi. 24, 2 Sam. xii. 13, John xx. 23.—*From MS. notes of Bishop Andrews.*

‡ Non est igitur potestas peccata suo arbitrio remittendi (quod tantum jus Christo homini concessum est) sed annunciandi veniam, quæ Nathani etiam ad Davidum, et prophetis aliis mandata fuerit.—*From MS. notes in a Common Prayer Book in Bishop Cosin's Library, collected and written by him.*

It is most expedient that this be read, to induce the people that they bethink themselves of the sovereign benefit of absolution by their penitent confession. *Idem.* Dr. White, in his "Way to the Church," quotes all this latter part of the exhortation (in the Communion Service), showing against the slander of the Jesuits, that we abolish not, but willingly retain, the doctrine of confession. § xl., 231.—*From MS. notes of Bishop Andrews, in an interleaved Book of Common Prayer, in Bishop Cosin's Library.*

"The Church of England, howsoever it holdeth not confession and absolution sacramental, that is, made unto received from a priest, to be absolutely necessary, as that without there can be no remission of sins, yet by this place it is manifest what she teacheth concerning the virtue and force of this sacred action. The confession is commanded to be *special*; the absolution is the same as that of the ancient Church and the present Church of Rome useth; what would they have more? Maldonate, their greatest divine that I meet with (de Pœnit, p. 19), saith thus—'Ego autem sic respondendum puto non esse necesse, ut semper peccata remittantur per sacramentum pœnitentiæ, sed ut ipsum sacra mentum natura sua possit peccata remittere, si inveniatur peccata et non inveniatur contrarium impedimentum,' and so much we acknowledge. Our 'if he feels his conscience troubled' is no more than 'si inveniatur peccata;' for if he be not troubled with sin, what needs either confession or absolution? Venial sins, that separate not from the grace of God, need not so much to trouble a man's conscience. If he have committed any mortal sin, then we require a confession of it to a priest, who may give him, upon his true contrition and repentance, the benefit of absolution, which takes effect according to his disposition that is absolved; and therefore the Church of Rome adds to the form of absolution 'Quantum in me est, et de jure possum, ego te absolvo;' not absolutely, lest the doctrine should get head, that some of their ignorant people believe, that be the party confessed never so void of contrition, the very act of absolution forgives him his sins. The truth is, that in the priest's absolution there is the true power and virtue of forgiveness, which will most certainly take effect, nisi ponitur obex, as in baptism."—*A MS. note on the Absolution in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, by Bishop Overall, written in an interleaved Common Prayer Book, in Bishop Cosin's Library, printed in the year 1619.*

"It is confessed that private confession unto a priest is of very ancient practice in the Church; of excellent use and practice, being

discreetly handled. We refuse it to none, if men require it, if need be to have it. We urge it and persuade it in extremes ; we require it in cases of perplexity, for the quieting of men disturbed, and their consciences. It has been so acknowledged by your fellows, that 'in the Visitation of the Sick it is required by the communion-book, that the sick person make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter'.....and likewise before the receiving of the Lord's Supper."—*Montague's Answer to the late Gagger of Protestants*, p. 33, A.D. 1624. 4to.

"Abuses and errors removed, and especially the priest being learned, as we have said before, we mislike no manner of confession, whether it be private or public."—*Jewel's Defence of the Apology*, pp. 156, 158. Edit. 1611.

B.

OF THE CHURCH,

HER DOCTRINES, AND THE OPPOSING HERESIES.

BY THE RIGHT REV. RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was, next to Archbishop Whitgift, the chief of the Church divines at the Hampton Court Conference, and the overseer of the last translation of the Bible. If Bishop Andrews might, from his sanctity and erudition, be regarded as the most distinguished prelate and noblest theologian of that time, Archbishop Bancroft can scarcely be looked on as his inferior in influence and position, and may well be considered the organ of the feelings of the Church of England on the disputed questions of that era. The two names of Andrews and Bancroft may be regarded as a comprehensive index to Anglican orthodoxy at the opening of the seventeenth century. The *veritate questiones* of the time are all handled in detail in the archbishop's peculiar manner (for which we ought to prepare the reader), in the sermon preached at Paul's Cross, which we here reprint from the edition of 1588.

R.

CAMBRIDGE—*The Feast of the Holy Trinity.*

I JOHN iv. 1.

Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

THESE words which I have read unto you (right honourable and beloved in the Lord) do divide themselves into three parts: a prohibition, "Believe not every spirit;" a commandment, "But try the spirits whether they be of God;" and a reason of them both, "Because many false prophets are gone out into the world." Of these three parts, the last in order is the first in nature; and the first is the last: and I mean to proceed accordingly. First, I will show unto you that many false prophets are gone out into the world: secondly, the trial of them is to be considered, of which two points being well understood, the

necessity of the prohibition will evidently appear, which is, that we ought not to believe every spirit.

“Many false prophets are gone out into the world.” In this first part, I observe four things: the number of these prophets, they are “many;” their quality, they are “false;” their going out, and the causes that move them so to do: and where they remain, they are gone “into the world.”

As concerning the number of these prophets, the Scriptures do name these; Simon Magus, Elymas, Bar-jesus, the Nico-laitanes, Hymeneus, Philetus, Alexander, Phygellus, Hermogenes, Diotrophes, Theudas, and Judas of Galilee. To whom also these may be added: Ebion, Cerinthus, the Carpocratians, Simon of Galilee, Menander, and divers others. With these prophets the Church was so troubled and disquieted in St. Jolin’s time, that (as it seemed) some cared for no spirit, prophet, nor doctrine: and some were so giddy-headed, that in a manner every spirit contented them, which caused the apostle to use in effect these words: to the one sort “Believe not every spirit;” and to the other, “Although you are not to believe every spirit, yet it is your duty to believe some spirit.” After the apostles’ times, as it were out of the ashes of these false prophets, there grew and sprung up so many other schismatics and heretics; as [S.] Irenæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and St. Augustine do testify, that the very name of Christ began to be odious among the people: and as Socrates reporteth, the Christians were mocked and jested at upon public stages, and in their common interludes. Of the times in like manner wherein we now live, the apostle St. Paul did prophecy, that there should be many false prophets: and we do see his sayings therein to be fulfilled by the number of such prophets as now remain amongst us: Arians, Donatists, Papists, Libertines, Anabaptists, the family of love, and sundry other (I know not of what opinion), so many sectaries and schismatics, as that in very deed divers do revolt daily to Papistry; many are become merely Atheists; and the best do stand in some sort at a gaze.

So as all the complaints which in times past have been made hereof, may truly be applied to these our days, wherein we now live; “Vos Christiani dissidetis inter vos et tot sectas habetis; quæ licet omnes Christianissimi titulum sibi vindicent, tamen alia aliam execratur et condemnat. Quare vestra religio vera non est, nec a Deo originem ducit.” “Ye Protestants,” say the Papists (as Clemens Alexandrinus noteth some others to have said upon the like occasion), “ye dissent amongst yourselves, and maintain so many sects, which sects, notwithstanding they all claim the title of Christian religion, yet one of them

curseth and condemneth another: and therefore your religion is not true, nor hath her beginning or ground from God.”* And [S.] Chrysostom, of the Atheist: “The infidel and heathen cometh and saith, I would be a Christian man, but I know not whom I should follow; there is much strife, dissention, and trouble among you. I cannot tell what doctrine to choose to set before other: for every one saith, I speak the truth.”

The best amongst you, in like manner, I fear, are come to the same pass that they were in Melancthon’s time, who complained as he writeth in this sort: “We understand whom to avoid (meaning the Papists), yet whom to follow we know not.”† God, for his mercy’s sake, remove this great stumbling-block from amongst us, even as he shall see it to be most expedient for his Church!

Now of the quality of those prophets, they are “false:” false in doctrine and false in conversation. In respect of their doctrine, they are called, in the Scriptures, “Spirits of error, seducers, deceivers, jugglers, authors of divers sects, false speakers, and the children of the devil, who is the father of all falsehood.”

In respect of their conversation they are said to be humble and lowly in outward show, but yet of nature very contentious and unquiet, doting about questions and strife of words; whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, and evil surmisings. Their mouths do speak proud things, and “swelling words of vanity;” likewise dangerous things. They are bold and stand in their own conceit; they despise government, and fear not to speak evil of them that are in dignity and authority; whereas the angels which are greater, both in power and might, give not railing judgment against them before the Lord. They are libellers, and do speak evil of those things which they know not. They are bolder in avouching their untruths and in depraving their superiors, than Michael, the archangel, when he strove against the devil.

In both these respects they are resembled, in the Scriptures and in the ancient Fathers, unto divers things, as unto “painted walls,” and “sepulchres,” because they are “hypocrites;” to trees which have nothing but leaves, because they are fruitless; to the mermaids [Justin Martyr], because they hide their errors under counterfeit and fair speeches; to Helena of Greece, for that they move as great contention in the Church as she did troubles between the Grecians and Trojans; to the diseases called the leprosy and the canker (2 Tim. ii.), in that their cor-

* Clem. Strom. lib. 7

† Melanct. resp. ad Staphyl.

ruption taketh deeper root and spreadeth so far; to a serpent that is lapped up together, because they have many windings and contradictions; to the fish named a cuttle, for that they infect with their black and slanderous calumniation; to snakes or adders, the poison of asps being under their lips; to the viper, because they regard not to wound and destroy their mother, the Church; to tigers and lions, for that they are very cruel and fierce; and to divers other such things as ought to make them odious to all that love the truth.

Of these false prophets some endeavour to seduce the godly under pretence of dreams and revelations; especially the Popish priests and prophets; for, proving of their real [carnal] presence and purgatory, as it appeareth most manifestly in divers of their books, but especially touching purgatory in Dionysius, the Carthusian: "*De quatuor novissimis.*"

Unto these I might add the holy maid of Lisbon, who did prophecy this last year (if the report be true), that the invincible navy of the Spaniards should no sooner approach the coast of England, but that presently all Englishmen's hearts should fail them, and the Spaniards obtain the victory. I pray God that all prophecies and attempts against England have never better success than these of late have had!

There are other false prophets, in like manner so termed, because they do apply the sayings of the true prophets unto a false end and purpose; as those in the apostles' times, who took upon them to set down peremptorily the certain time of the day of judgment. Such there are also in these days; especially Brocard, the Italian, who expoundeth the prophecies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the rest, touching the overthrow of Jerusalem, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, and Babylon, with their kings and rulers, to be understood of the destruction of Antwerp, Paris, the Prince of Orange, the Prince of Conde, and others, both noblemen and famous cities, in these last days.

Of this number I may very well account the late obstinate heretic, Francis Ket (who was within these two months burnt at Norwich). All the places in the prophets which did describe the spiritual kingdom of Christ, he applied to the material restoration of the earthly Jerusalem, affirming that as many as would be saved must go and dwell there in the land of Canaan.

Another of this sort (whose book I have, written with his own hand), endeavoureth to prove, out of the prophets, that Elizabeth, now Queen of England, is ordained of God to be Queen of Jerusalem: even as the Anabaptists long since dreamed of John Bocaldus, of Leyden, whom, as Bullinger noteth, they crowned King of Jerusalem.

Lastly, they are to be reckoned amongst the number of these false prophets, who do pervert the meaning of the Scriptures for the maintenance and defence of any false doctrine, schism, and heresy. Hereof, you know, I might give you many examples. I pray you bear with me, if I set down one as strange in my opinion, as any is to be found in a matter of no greater importance.

The name of false prophet I am content, in divers respects, to suppress: the matter itself which I mean, standeth in this sort. There are very many, now-a-days, that affirm, that when Christ used these words, "Tell the Church," he meant thereby, to establish in the Church, for ever, the same plan and form of ecclesiastical government, to be erected in every parish, which Moses, by Jethro's counsel appointed in Mount Sinai, and which afterward the Jews did imitate in their particular synagogues. "They had (say these men) in their synagogues, their priests—we must have, in every parish, our pastors; they their Levites—we our doctors; they their rulers of their synagogues—we our elders; they their Levitical treasurers—we our deacons."

This form of government they call the tabernacle which God hath appointed, the glory of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, the presence of God, the place which he hath chosen to put his name there, the court of the Lord, and the shining forth of God's glory. Where this ecclesiastical synod is not erected, they say, God's ordinance is not performed; the office of Christ, as he is a king, is not acknowledged: in effect, that without this government, we can never attain to a right and true feeling of Christian religion, but are to be reckoned amongst those who are accounted to say of Christ, as it is in St. Luke, "We will not have this man to reign over us." And their conclusion upon this point, against all that do withstand their government is this, according as it likewise followeth in the same place: "Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them before me."

Here, you see, there is great vehemency used, and very sharp applications are urged. A man would think that if the ground of this government were not more clear than the sun, and so determined of by all the godly and learned in the world, ever since Christ's time, they could never be half so resolute or earnest.

But herein they pass, indeed, the measure of a modest man's conceit. For there was never ancient Father since the apostles' times, were he never so learned or studious of the truth, than was never particular church, council or synod, or any man of judgment that ever lived, till these latter times (as I think, and

I have taken pains for the search thereof), that did ever so expound and interpret that place, or that did ever so much as dream of any such meaning.

Besides, it is most manifest, that there hath been a diverse government from this used in the Church ever since the apostles' times; and these men themselves confess, that, long before the Council of Nice, this their government began greatly to decay; and that, since the said council, it was never heard of in Christendom until these their times.

A very strange matter, if it be true, that Christ should erect a form of government for the ruling of his Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until his coming again, and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice for the space of fifteen hundred years, or at the least (to take them at the best), that the government and kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown, when, by all men's confessions, the divinity of his person, the virtue of his priesthood, the power of his office, as he is a prophet, and the honour of his kingly authority, was so godly, so learnedly, and so mightily established against the Arians in the Council of Nice, as that the confession of the Christian faith then set forth, hath ever since, without contradiction, been received in the Church.

So, as for my own part, I cannot choose, but account these interpreters to be, in truth, perverters of Christ's meaning, and do hold them among the number of those, of whom Tertullian speaking, saith, "They murder the Scriptures to serve their own purpose."*

And thus of their qualities:—

"Many false prophets are gone out." Are gone out, that is, are manifest. Before, they lay hid in the Church, but now, by their schisms, they have made themselves known. They departed from the congregations of the faithful, accounting them ungodly,† and have gathered to themselves companies agreeable to their own humours, which they only esteem for the Churches of God.

Thus all heretics and schismatics have done from the beginning, wherein they are greatly to be wondered at. For this

* Ter. de prescrip. advers. hæc.

† Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints as it is approved by the apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane and unmeet for them to join with Christian profession; let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, &c.—*Canons of 1603, Can. 9.*

hath ever been reckoned a most certain ground and principle in religion, that that Church, which maintaineth, without error, the faith of Christ; which holdeth the true doctrine of the Gospel in matters necessary to salvation, and preacheth the same; which retaineth the lawful use of those sacraments only which Christ hath appointed, and which appointeth vice to be punished and virtue to be maintained; notwithstanding, in some other respects and in some points, it have many blemishes, imperfections, nay, divers and sundry errors, is yet to be acknowledged for the Mother of the faithful, the house of God, the ark of Noah, the pillar of truth, and the spouse of Christ. From which Church whosoever doth separate himself, he is to be reckoned a schismatic or an heretic.

I might bring very many testimonies out of the ancient Fathers to prove this principle, especially out of St. Augustine against the Donatists, but I hold it needless. And yet, for the better satisfaction of those which are of the new humour, I will trouble you with the judgment herein, of a man of the new Reformation. Danaeus handleth this point at large, and is flat of this opinion, that whosoever departeth from the Church, for any imperfections or errors which do not impugn nor overthrow the substance and articles of the Christian faith, he is a schismatic, "because he departeth from that company which truly retaineth the foundation of the true faith. And out of this Church (saith he) there is no salvation."

Touching the causes why false prophets, with so great danger of their souls, do depart from the Church: if we respect them as they are indeed, I can say nothing, but as it is contained in the old distinction, "They were in the Church, but not of the Church." Or as St. John saith, "They went out from us because they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they should have continued with us." In the Lord's barn there is contained both wheat and chaff. "The wind (saith St. Cyprian) carrieth not away the wheat, nor overthroweth the tree that is deeply rooted, but the light chaff only is tossed, and carried away with the tempest:" howbeit, although in truth they depart from the Church, because they were not of the Church, yet there are certain reasons whereby they are moved so to do.

Martin affirmeth that there are so many schisms in the Church of England at this day, because that bishops will not suffer men to do as they list (for I can make no better sense of his discourse touching that matter); but, for mine own part, I am not of his opinion. For I find in the ancient Fathers sundry other causes far differing, being truly applied, from those

which Martin allegeth. Of which causes, if that which I have to say do haply displease any, let them not be offended with me, but rather blame themselves, and their own demeanour in that a man can scarcely speak anything out of the said godly Fathers as touching the behaviour of the ancient heretics and schismatics, but he shall seem to point at and describe the factions in these days.

There are many causes set down in the said ancient Fathers why so many false prophets do go out into the world, but I will only touch four, whereof I find the contempt of bishops especially to be one. For unto them, as St. Jerome saith, ever since St. Mark's time, the care of Church government hath been committed. They had authority over the rest of the ministry, "that the seed of schisms might be taken away." And again, "lest every one drawing to himself by a several way should rend in pieces the Church of Christ." For if bishops had not that authority "there would be as many schisms in the Church as there are priests."*

Which thing was observed before Jerome's time by St. Cyprian: "The beginning of heretics (saith he) and the first springing up and enterprize of schismatics thinking amiss, &c. groweth of this; that being puffed up with pride they contemn their governor." By this means men stray from the Church. "Thus a profane altar is placed without the doors: and thus they rebel against the peace of Christ and the ordinance and unity of God."† And in another place, "Whence do heretics and schisms spring but of this, that bishops, having the government of the Churches in their several dioceses (as Mr. Nowel sheweth at large against Dorman), are, through the proud presumption of certain, contemned, and being men by God's approbation allowed and honoured are of unworthy men judged."‡ Thus you see what the ancient and godly Fathers have thought in times past of the contempt of bishops; let it prevail now with you, as it shall please God, to work in your hearts.

The second cause why so many false prophets are gone into the world, I find to be ambition; or, as St. Augustine saith, "desire of glory;" or as [S.] Gregory speaketh, "desire of principality;" not by such as are already advanced to any honour or authority, but rather by those who, accounting themselves nothing inferior to any of their superiors, do affect with greediness the like places and preferments, the which if they miss one way they labour to attain them by another.

* Epist ad Evagr.; Idem in 1 Tit; Idem in Evagr.; Idem cont Lucif.

† Ad Rogatianum.

‡ Ad Pupianum.

This will appear very evidently unto those who shall consider the histories of Arius coveting the bishopric of Alexandria, of Donatus labouring to have been Bishop of Carthage, of Novatus desiring a bishopric in Italy, and of Aeri^us contending with one Eustathius for a bishopric in Pontus. These men affecting these honourable rooms, by receiving their several foils, when through ambition they could not get the places they looked for in the Church, they sought to obtain them in their particular synagogues. But the history of Aeri^us is most of all pertinent to this purpose. Epiphanius doth report it thus in effect :—Aeri^us and Eustathius, being scholars together in Pontus, and profiting in learning with like commendation, at the last did sue one against another for a bishopric there. Eustathius obtained it : Aeri^us is greatly offended. The bishop seeking carefully how to content him, made him the master of a hospital. But herewithal Aeri^us was not satisfied. The repulse he had taken, greatly tormenting him, upon a stomach he gave over his hospital, and began to devise how he might slander Eustathius, affirming him to be a proud man, and not the man he had been taken for : that how he abounded too much in wealth, and was inclined to hoarding of money. Thereupon he entered into a schism, he departed from the Church, and having allured unto him a multitude of men and women, he fell into many absurdities. That he might, the rather (as he thought), pinch and vex Eustathius, as also for the advancement of his own credit, he affirmed himself (being but a priest) to be equal in honour and dignity with Eustathius, a bishop ; and that there was no difference, by the word of God, betwixt a priest and a bishop. He used, for proof of these his assertions, the very same arguments which now are used by those that maintain his opinions, as that the apostles sometimes writing to priests and deacons, and sometimes to bishops and deacons, should thereby signify that a bishop and a priest is all one. “ Which is an assertion (says Epiphanius) full of folly.” And thus you see what ambition, accompanied with emulation, wrought in Aeri^us. The course of which history I have the rather at large noted unto you, because Martin would gladly have been as subtle to have deceived you, as he is malicious in depraving his superiors. Who taking upon him, with Aeri^us, to prove an equality in the ministry, and that there ought to be no difference betwixt a bishop and a priest, cometh at last to these words, “ There was never any but anti-christian popes and popelings that ever claimed this authority (he meaneth the superiority which bishops have over their clergy), especially when the matter was gainsaid,” &c. Why doth man’s allowance or disallowance make a matter

anti-christian or not anti-christian? Were they godly bishops which claimed this authority when it was not gainsaid; and are they become anti-christian bishops for challenging the same, because some do mislike it? But that you may farther see Martin's boldness (I might say, either his malice or ignorance), it may please you to understand, what account was made in the Church of God, in those days, of Aërius gainsaying and impugning of the superiority of the bishops. For if, then, his opinion prevailed, the favourers of the same cause now have somewhat to boast of: but indeed it fell out otherwise. For, it appeareth in Epiphanius, after due trial and examination made by the learned Fathers who then lived, of all his arguments and sleights which he used for the proof of his assertions, that with a general consent of the whole Church, his opinions were overthrown, and he himself persisting in them was condemned for a heretic. St. Augustine likewise beareth witness hereof, who, in his book of heresies, ascribeth this to Aërius for one, in that he said, "There ought to be no difference betwixt a priest and a bishop." Besides, for all Aërius's gainsaying, the most of the godly, the best of the learned, and the most zealous of the Fathers, who spent themselves in the defence of religion against such heretics and schismatics as the Church of God did then abound and flow withal, did themselves take upon them the office of bishops, and till this day there was never any but heretics and such lewd [ignorant, wicked] persons, who did account them anti-christian.

There were, as it seemeth, in [S.] Chrysostom's time, such like men in behaviour towards bishops, as we see many to be amongst ourselves at this time, who being called before them as occasion required, did behave themselves in very proud and disdainful manner, in so much as thereby they were discerned to be very arrogant and contemptuous heretics. "Every heretic (saith he), speaking with a bishop, doth neither call him bishop or archbishop, nor most religious nor holy; but what? your reverence, your wisdom, your prudence; and he giveth him common names, thereby denying his authority. The devil so dealt with God himself."* And this of the second cause.

The third cause why so many false prophets are gone out into the world, St. Augustine noteth to be self-love. "Self-love (saith he) did build the city of the devil;† for herein is their chief vaunt and glory (as [S.] Bernard saith) to hunt after commendation by singularity of knowledge."‡

And surely it is greatly to be marvelled at, into what doting folly men will fall, who shall give over themselves to follow this

* In Psal. xiii. † De Civit: l. xiv. c. 28. ‡ Ser. in Cant. 65.

humour. Irenæus writeth, that some were so besotted with an opinion of themselves, that they accounted their own writings to be Gospels :* as we see now by the family of love, that have set out their "Gospel of the Kingdom." Others reckoned their own wisdom far greater than the apostles. There were who termed themselves "Gnostics," accounting themselves thereby ignorant of nothing. The Manichees derived [*i. e.* found a meaning in] their name of Manna, because they held that whatsoever they taught was to be received at their hands as food from heaven.† Montanus said he was the comforter, which Christ promised should lead the Church "into all truth." Novatus called himself Moses ; and having a brother, he named him Aaron. Simon Magus affirmed sometimes that he was God the Father ; sometimes God the Son ; sometimes God the Holy Ghost ; and sometimes the power of God.

And hence it is that the ancient Fathers have reckoned this dotage to be the very beginning and fosterer of heretics : "The beginning of heresies (saith [S.] Cyprian) is when men begin to please themselves." "For then (as [S.] Jerome noteth) whatsoever they conceive, they make it an idol." And again, "The covetous man worshippeth his money, and the heretic his own opinion."

They may, therefore, be rightly compared unto Pygmalion, who fell in love with an image of his own making ; or to Narcissus, that doted so greatly in beholding himself. These men, if once they affirm anything, they will rather hazard their lives, than, by revoking the same, impair their reputation. Allege against them the general consent of all the ancient Fathers, and they esteem it not a rush. "He is but of a mean conceit among them who will stick to say (as Bernard noteth of Petrus Abailardus and his followers) : indeed all the Fathers are of this opinion, but I am of another judgment." "Of whom (saith [S.] Bernard) were it not more agreeable to justice that the mouth of such a man should by punishments be stopped, than by reasons refelled [refuted] ? Doth not he worthily provoke all men to be against him, who is himself against all men ?" How this self-love hath blinded many of these days, there is none of you, my brethren, who are ignorant of it. God, of his infinite mercy, deliver us all from so dangerous an enemy !

The fourth cause why many false prophets are gone out into the world is said to be covetousness : whereof the apostle speak-

* *Advers. heres.*, l. i. c. 1.

† In our modern sense of the term "derived," the Manichees derived their name from Manes, their founder.

eth when he saith of some, that they teach “ things which they ought not, for filthy lucre’s sake.”

Hereunto, likewise, the devil had respect when he said unto Christ, “ All these things will I give thee.” It is written of Paulus Samosatenus,* that being allured with great hope of preferment, which he expected of Renobia, the Queen of Arbaia, he fell into those schisms which after wrought his overthrow. But I would to God this matter were not evident by experience amongst ourselves. For I am fully of this opinion, that the hope which many men have conceived of the spoil of bishops’ livings, of the subversion of cathedral churches, and of a havoc to be made of all the Church’s revenues, is the chiefest and most principal cause of the greatest schisms that we have at this day in our Church. I would be loth to say thus much if I had not very apparent reason to lead me thereunto. For the better explanation whereof, I have thought it good to divide the factious of our age into two sorts—the clergy factious, and the lay factious. The clergy factious do contend that all the livings which do now appertain to the Church ought of right to be employed for the maintenance of their presbyteries, and that rather than they should want, the old spoil of the abbeys and such religious houses should be restored again unto their use: and in this course they are so earnest, as that in a supplication exhibited in the name of the commonalty to the high court of Parliament, 1585, they have set it down as a resolute doctrine, that things once dedicated to a sacred use ought so to remain by the word of God for ever, and ought not to be converted to any private use.

The lay factions, on the other side, are of a far contrary opinion; for, say they (as it appeareth in the late admonition to the people of England, as I conceive by the circumstances there noted), our preachers ought to conform themselves to the example of Christ and his apostles. Their Master had not a house to put his head in. The apostles, their predecessors, had neither gold nor silver, possessions, riches, goods, nor revenues: and why then should they, being in gifts and pains inferior unto them, have greater preferments in the world than they had? If they have a mess of pottage and a canvass doublet, may it not content them? Surely these advancements which they have do greatly hinder and hurt them. Even as though one should say unto you, my brethren of the poorer sort, “ These gentlemen and wealthier sort of the laity do greatly abuse you; the children of God (you know) are

* The forerunner of Arius.

heirs of the world, and these things which the wicked have, they enjoy by usurpation. 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' You have an equal portion with the best in the kingdom of God, and will you suffer this unequal distribution of these worldly benefits? Consider how, in the apostles' time, the faithful had all things common. They came and laid their goods at the apostles' feet, and division was thereof made according to every man's necessity. You cannot but groan under the heavy burden which is laid upon you. Your landlords do wring and grind your faces for the maintenance of their pride in apparel, their excess in diet, their unnecessary pleasures, as gaming, keeping of hawks and dogs, and such like vanities. They enhance your rents, they take great fines, and do keep you in very unchristian slavery and bondage. Why do you not seek, for your better relief, to renew the use which was in the apostles' times? These great possessions, lands, and revenues, which the richer sort have in their hands, do (as you see) make them very proud, choke their zeal, hinder them in their virtuous proceedings, and will, indeed (if order be not taken), mar and undo them." Now, dearly beloved, unto you of all sorts, but especially to you of the richest, I pray you tell me how you like this doctrine? Do you think it is true or meet to be taught? No, surely it is not. The whole manner thereof is wholly Anabaptistical, and tendeth to the destruction and overthrow of all good rule and government. And yet, I tell you, it may be urged with as great necessity against the laity, as the other may against the clergy; but, indeed, neither the one nor the other against either of them both, truly. Marry, it may be your desire to hear what the clergy factious do answer for themselves, and in what good part they take their scholars' liberality towards them. I warrant you they are not tongue-tied on their own behalf; but, finding their desire, are bold enough to tell them of it. "Whilst they hear us speak against bishops and cathedral churches (saith the author of the 'Ecclesiastical Discipline'), it tickleth their ears, looking for the like prey they had before of monasteries; yea, they have in their hearts devoured already the Church's inheritance. They care not for religion, so they may get the spoil. They could be content to crucify Christ, so they might have his garments. Our age is full of spoiling soldiers and of wicked Dionysians, who will rob Christ of his golden coat, as neither fit for him in winter nor summer.* They are cormorants, and seek to fill the bottomless sacks of their greedy appetites. They do yawn

* See Note I.

after a prey, and would thereby, to their perpetual shame, purchase to themselves a field of blood."

"And whereas you have already in your hands many impropriations and other Church livings, they say that in keeping them you sin against your own consciences: that you ought to be so far from looking for any more, which doth now appertain to the Church, as that you rather ought to fear you lose not that you have already, especially seeing you waste the same in courtly bravery, and consume it with most sacrilegious impudency and boldness."

I have not used a word of mine own herein, but have been a faithful relater to you what the clergy factious do think of their lay scholars. And is not then, dear brethren, the consideration very pitiful unto you? The one sort, you see, would bring us to the government which was, as they say, in the apostles' times, but they would have the livings of these times; the other sort, not caring so much for the said government, do greatly urge in the ministry the apostolical poverty, to the intent that they might obtain the prey which they look for. Whereby I doubt not but it is manifest unto you, that covetousness in them both hath thrust them into this schism.

But yet a word or two more unto the factious of the laity? I beseech you, upon what grounds do you stand? Your own teachers, seeing your fetches [frauds], do utterly condemn you; and, for mine own part, I cannot absolve you. It is, therefore, very meet and agreeable to the reputation which you desire, that before you proceed any farther in your disclosed mask, first, you provide you of teachers for your warrant therein, lest otherwise you grow into hatred, as men for their commodity, regarding neither God nor the world.

Nay, in my opinion, you ought to be ashamed to open your mouths ever hereafter against the present government of the Church, and for the new platform, until you can be contented to be so far from coveting the goods of the Church, as that you are both willing and ready to deliver out of your hands such spoils and preys thereof as you have already.*

If I were urged, dearly beloved, to give my consent to the erection of these presbyteries, which both the sorts of these men seem so earnestly to desire, I could be content (so that first they agreed who should have the present revenues of the Church) for some short time (until they saw the mischief of them) to yield therein unto them.

Almighty God, grant unto them, and to every one of us, such

* How applicable this is to our own days needs scarcely to be said.

grace from above as that we may not wilfully infringe his holy commandments, prohibiting us to covet other men's goods, but with all thankfulness to satisfy ourselves with those benefits which he hath already bestowed upon us!

And thus much of these four causes why so many false prophets go out from the Church.

Now followeth the last point of the first part of my text:—"Many false prophets are gone out into the world." Into the world, that is (as one observeth very well upon this place), they are now sprung up in every corner among ourselves, even in these places wherein we lie, as dangers and venom laid in our ways to entrap and infect us.

It had been good for the Church that when false prophets will needs separate themselves from the communion thereof, they would have gone likewise, and have dwelt in some strange countries, as India, Cataia, or to the farthest parts of Africa, where they might have delighted themselves in all sorts of novelties, and erected such governments as should best have pleased their fancies. But they will none of that; for, as Tertullian noteth, "Their workmanship riseth not by their own building, but by the overthrow of the truth." And again, "They undermine our works, that they may erect their own."* But, indeed, if they would be gone to dwell in strange countries, yet they could not be permitted. For, as St. Augustine saith, "Where God doth build his city, the devil will have another hard by to confront it;" or, as another [Luther] writeth, "Where Christ erecteth his Church, the devil in the same churchyard will have his chapel. Where Christ's ministers do sow the good and pure seed of truth, unity, and order, there the devil doth stir up his ministers, by ways and means, secretly in corners, to cast abroad their cockle and darnel of falsehood, discord, and confusion." "When Satan (saith St. Augustine) saw his temples forsaken, and that his oracles were all put to silence, he cunningly devised, for a new supply, to have always his ministers in or about the Church, who, under a Christian name, might resist the Christian doctrine."†

True it is, that almighty God, if it had stood with his good pleasure, could easily have brought it to pass, in spite of the devil, that there should never have been any such false prophets or heresies amongst us. But he saw it not to be expedient; for, as the apostle saith, by his directions, "There must be heresies in the Church," and that, as the ancient Fathers do note out of the Scriptures, for three causes:—

* Ter. de præscrip. adv. hæret.

† De Civ. Dei. xviii. 51.

First, as St. Paul saith, "That they which are approved might be known;" or, as Tertullian speaketh, "That faith, by having temptation, might also have probation."

Secondly, saith St. Augustine, "There must be heresies, because God doth see it more agreeable to his wisdom to bring good out of evil, than at all to permit no evil."

The third reason hereof is this, that men might be driven thereby the rather to labour and search for the finding out of the truth.

To that end God permitted the Jebusites to dwell with his people, and to the like purpose Scipio Nasica dissuaded the league of peace betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, lest thereby the Romans should grow to be slothful. St. Augustine, upon the fifty-fourth Psalm, affirmeth, that "The doctrine of the Trinity was never so fully handled by the Church as when they were driven thereunto by the heresies of Arius; nor of repentance, as when Novatus opposed himself against it; nor of baptism, as when the Donatists laboured to confirm their false opinions."

And again, "Many senses of the Scriptures lie hid, and are not more profitably applied than when men are compelled to answer heretics."

Seeing, then, dearly beloved, that there are many prophets, and of false disposition, which, through contempt of ecclesiastical government, through ambition, self-love, and covetousness, have made a great schism in the Church, and do continue amongst us for the trial of our faith, the glory of God, and that we might more carefully search out and hold fast the truth; you see how necessary this exhortation of the apostle is—"Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God." And thus much of the first part.

"Try the spirits, whether they be of God."

That which I have to say of this matter will be subject to slanderous tongues; I pray you, therefore, conceive me rightly, and do not pervert my meaning. Some forbid the children of God to prove anything; others command them to be ever seeking and proving of all things. But neither of them both in a right good sense do deal therein as they ought to do. A mean course betwixt these two is to be allowed of, and followed, which is, that we prove some things, and that we receive without curiosity some other things, being already examined, proved, and tried to our hands. The Popish false prophets will suffer the people to try nothing, but do teach them wholly to depend upon them, and to that purpose they have, indeed, three notable sleights.

First, they forbid them the reading of the Scriptures; and the better to be obeyed therein, they will not permit the Scriptures to be translated into their vulgar tongue. Whereof it came to pass that the people were so easily seduced and drawn from Christ to the pope; from his merits, to the saints and their own merits; from his bloody sacrifice, whereby only sins are remitted, to their most dry and fruitless sacrifice* from the spiritual good of his body and blood, unto a carnal and capernaical transubstantiation; from the calling upon his name, to the invocation of saints; and from their sure trust and confidence in his death, to a vain imagination of the virtue of their masses, pilgrimages, and pardons, and I know not to what intolerable superstition and idolatry.

Against this, their falsehood and very lewd [wicked] dealing, all those places of Scripture may be alleged, wherein we are commanded to "search the Scriptures," to "prove all things," and to "hold that which is good," and likewise, in this place, to try and examine "the spirits, whether they be of God."

To the like purpose, an infinite number of places out of the ancient Fathers may be applied (as you may find them collected together by Dr. Buckley, in his answer to certain reasons in the preface to the Rhemish Testament), where they are very earnest upon this point: That all Christian men should read the Scriptures, buy unto themselves Bibles, and meditate continually upon the word of God, so as thereby their eyes might be opened, their consciences comforted, their faith nourished, and their hope lifted up to a full assurance of the promises therein contained.

The second shift which these false prophets of the Romish Church do use is this:—now that they perceive the Scriptures to be translated into the language almost of every nation; and that the books are now so common in every man's hands, as that with their former devise they are no longer able to cover their nakedness, they labour with all their might to bind us to the Fathers, to the councils, and to the Church of Rome, protesting very deeply that we must admit of no other sense of any place of the Scriptures than the Romish Church shall be pleased to deliver unto us, according to the saying of Hosius:—"If a man

* The Romanists teach that the Mass is a true and proper sacrifice, in the same sense that our Lord's own sacrifice was. This doctrine the Church of England condemns, considering that this would be equivalent to insisting on a repetition of the sacrifice once made. She maintains that the holy Eucharist derives all its value from the sacrifice of Christ, once offered, and that, apart from this, it would indeed be "most dry and fruitless."

have the exposition of the Church of Rome, touching any place of Scripture, although he neither know nor understand whether and how it agreeth with the words of Scripture, yet he hath the very word of God."

To refel the grossness of this absurd opinion, all that is very effectual which is brought to prove that the Church is inferior to the Scriptures. Besides, we say that the Fathers do in many points dissent among themselves; and their General Councils have been oftentimes repugnant one to another. But yet we join with them upon a nearer issue. Where the Fathers do all agree together, we do not dislike them, and, for the first four General Councils, we allow and approve them.* And hereof it cometh to pass, that we do the rather condemn many points of Popery, and that they have of late days broached and taught us sundry very strange and dangerous opinions; which as they are not to be found in Scripture, so are they repugnant as well to the Fathers as to all the aforesaid General Councils.

Whereupon ariseth their third shift. They will not stick to confess that they teach many things now which are not to be proved either by the word of Scripture, Fathers, or Councils. Marry, say they, if the Apostles and Fathers had lived in our time they would have taught and decreed as we have done. For you must understand, saith Cardinal Cusanus, "That the Scriptures are appointed to serve the time, and have divers understandings; so that at one time they may be expounded after the universal, common, and ordinary custom; and that the same custom being changed, the meaning of the Scriptures may likewise be changed. For the understanding of the Scriptures runneth with the practice of the Church." And therefore he commendeth that obedience to be most full and perfect which is without reason; that is, when a man obeyeth without requiring of any reason, as a horse is obedient to his master.

To refel these blasphemous assertions, all those authorities of Scripture are very material, wherein God is showed to be immutable, and his word an everlasting word and a word of truth. Likewise those sentences of the Fathers, wherein they appeal, as occasion serveth, to the Scriptures, accounting them as the very touchstone and rule [standard] of all truth. Which could not be true if (as Papists say) they were like a nose of wax, or a sword of lead, that might be turned as a man list; or like to the cameleon, that changeth his colours according to his seat;

* The Church of England unreservedly acknowledges the authority of the first four General Councils in matters of faith.

or as though the Scriptures were to yield to the phantasies of men, that as they changed their minds, being by nature mutable, so the Scriptures should change the sense and meaning of God, who is not subject to any alteration or change. It were but a deceitful touchstone that would apply itself unto the goldsmith's pleasure; and he that should trust it were not unlike oftentimes for pure gold to be deceived for copper. The Lord open their eyes that they may see the grossness of this their great sin! or otherwise I can say nothing farther of them, but that if they needs will "be filthy, let them be filthy still."

Another sort of prophets there are (you may, in my opinion, call them false prophets) who would have the people to be always seeking and searching; and those men (as well themselves as their followers) can never find whereupon to rest. Now they are carried hither, now thither. They are "always learning," as the apostle saith, "but do never attain to the truth." That which pleaseth them to-day, displeaseth them to-morrow: they read the Scriptures, as Gregory Naziazan writeth, thereby "to arm their tongues, and that they may be eloquent against the truth." They will take upon them to be masters before they deserve the name of scholars; and to be, in the greatest matters of God's law, judges, being far unmeet to be called to the bar. "If they catch but a word (saith Gregory Naz.) they straight insult upon it, and with great injury they condemn those things which have been rightly delivered unto them. They wring and wrest the Scriptures according as they fancy. It would pity a man's heart, considering what pains they will take in quoting of places, to see how perversely they will apply them. And I greatly fear, except they take heed betimes, they will fall into the number of those who, as [S.] Peter saith, "being unlearned indeed, and unstable, do wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction" To repress, therefore, this boldness, first, I say, with Tertullian, and then also (for other men's contentation) with Danæus, that it hath ever been noted as a right property of heretics and schismatics always to be beating this into their followers' heads: "Search, examine, try, and seek;" bringing them thereby into a great uncertainty, whereupon they may insist; as also to a more ready conformity for the embracing of their opinions. For as the said Father (Tertullian) saith, "He that once believeth those things that he ought to believe, and afterwards thinketh some other thing to be sought for in the same, he sheweth himself that he did not believe those things which he seemed to believe, or else that now he hath given over to believe."

And, therefore, in this sense I may say again, with St. Augus-

tine, "Faithful ignorance is better than rash knowledge." And with Greg. Naz., "It falleth not within the compass of every man's understanding to determine and judge in matters of religion, but of those who are well experienced and exercised in them." Which things considered, together with our experience of the presumption which is everywhere to be found in these days, very just occasion is given to all the godly to complain with St. Jerome, in his epistle to Paulinus, "Husbandmen, dawblers, smiths, carpenters, woolsters, fullers, and other men of such like occupations, they all are content to learn of their masters: physicians deal with matters of physic, and men of trade with their own occupations. Only the knowledge of the Scriptures is that which every man challengeth to be skilful in. Learned and unlearned, they take upon them to write. This art of the Scriptures, the prattling of old women, the doting old man, the babbling sophister, and generally all men presume they have obtained it, when it is far otherwise; they tear it to pieces, and take upon them to teach it before they have learned it.

The mean whereof, between both these extremities of trying nothing and curious trying of all things, I hold to be best. And this it is: that when you have attained the true grounds of Christian religion, and are constantly built by a lively faith upon that notable foundation, whereof the apostle speaketh, which is Jesus Christ; being incorporated into his mystical body in your baptism by the Holy Ghost; and afterwards nourished with the heavenly food exhibited unto you in the Lord's Supper; you then content yourselves and seek no farther; according to the saying of Tertullian, "We need not to be curious after we have apprehended Christ Jesus, nor inquisitive after we have received the Gospel." And again, "When once we believe we do not desire to seek any farther."

Read the Scriptures, but with sobriety. If any man, presuming upon his knowledge, seek farther than is meet for him, besides that, he knoweth nothing as he ought to know, he shall cast himself into a labyrinth, and never find that he seeketh for. God hath bound himself by his promise unto his Church of purpose that men, by her good direction, might in this point be relieved. To whose godly determination, in matters of question, her dutiful children ought to submit themselves without any curious or wilful contradiction.* I could quote many authorities to this effect. "Those things (saith [S.] Athanasius) which have been proved and decreed by so many and so worthy bishops, it is in vain to call again into question."

When certain men in the Council of Chalcedon began to

* See Note II.

dispute of some points determined before in the Council of Nice, the Fathers there assembled said all with one voice, "If any retract, accursed be he; if any enquire of these things, accursed be he: accursed be he that addeth—accursed be he that diminisheth—accursed be he that innovateth."

The emperors Valentinian and Martian thought it very unmeet that those things which had been once judged of, and well decided by the decrees of godly synods, should again be debated and disputed upon; and both they and divers others made very godly laws, for the better containing of busy heads within the compass of this Christian modesty.

Aud surely it is a very true doctrine, that when councils and synods, being lawfully assembled and directed with God's Spirit, do resolve upon matters in question, that private men should content themselves withal.* Neither can I see, now that Popery is banished, and the truth of Christian religion (maugre the malice of all sorts of enemies) is godly planted amongst us, why in these days we should not attribute as much to the decrees of our learned Fathers in their lawful assemblies, as other men in times past, of as great judgment as we are of, have done. Is it not very absurd that we should seek every way to discredit them in matters of lesser importance, who have most notably sealed unto us the very grounds and substance of religion with their blood? Or is it likely that that Church which was able to discern betwixt truth and falsehood in so great points of doctrine, being wrapped through continuance of time in so deep an obscurity, should be unable to judge of ceremonies, forms of prayer, decency, order, edification, and such-like circumstances of no greater weight? You would not, I think, take it in good part, that men should now begin to sift and quarrel at the articles of religion, set out and approved in the year 1562, and yet I see no reason why they may not as well do it, as to carp and control at such orders as were then likewise established for order and government.

"Of how great quarrels (saith M. Calvin) would such confusion become the seed, if it may be lawful, according to every man's fancy, to change and alter those things which do appertain to the common state?" He meaneth, being determined of before with such grave and due consideration as already is mentioned. For as it followeth—"It will never come to pass

* Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ, and by the king's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke that his wicked error.—*Canons of 1603*. Can. 139. See Note II.

that one and the self-same thing should please all men, if matters may be left indifferent to be determined of by every private man's discretion."*

And writing upon this place I have in hand, where the apostle saith generally—"Prove the spirits, whether they be of God," he restraineth the words to a due consideration of certain circumstances. For as there he addeth, "Gold is tried by fire, and by the touchstone, but yet of those who have skill so to try it; for unto those that have no experience therein, neither the stone nor the fire serveth to any purpose.

"And therein (saith he), the trial of doctrine is two-fold—private and public." The private trial, to be had by private men, and privately, he alloweth in such sort as I have before observed against the Papists; but the public trial already made, or to be made with such consideration as hath been declared, is to be preferred by many degrees; "for (as there it followeth) if authority and liberty of judging shall be left to private men, there will never be any certainty set down, but rather all religion will wholly become doubtful."†

This which I have said hereof, to those who are of any moderation or good discretion, I account sufficient, but yet that I may the better herein satisfy every man's humour, you shall hear the judgment of our English Reformers touching this point. It is thus in effect:—That when such great causes of the Churches as could not be ended in their consistories or conferences, shall be heard and determined by a synod provincial, national, or more general, thereunto the Church shall stand, as it was at Jerusalem, except it be in a great matter of faith, or a great matter expressly against the Scriptures, as that was in the Nicene Council of the marriage of ministers, where the whole council would have concluded against it, &c., had not one man, Paphnutius, withstood them, &c.; in which case, say they, "Try the spirits, whether they be of God, or no." For otherwise, the particular Churches must stand to the determinations, as heretofore. Hitherto the admonition.

And for the better observation of this sobriety in resting ourselves upon the decrees of our synods and councils, as also for her avoiding of such confusion as Calvin hath before mentioned, you shall understand that there is not a reformed Church in Christendom, which doth not, in this case, require subscription (at the least) of their ministers. Calvin, refusing to administer the communion in Geneva, and to use therein unleavened bread or wafer cakes, was compelled to depart the city, and was not

* Lib. iv. Inst. c. 10, sect. 31.

† In 1. Joh. iv.

received thither again until he had allowed of the same kind of bread ; whereof afterwards, being restored, he thought never meet to contend, not dissembling in the meanwhile what otherwise he rather approved.

In Germany, likewise, subscription is required very straightly unto the confession of Augusta of all that take degrees in any of their universities, of all that are made ministers, and of all that are admitted to any ecclesiastical livings ; neither is any suffered there to preach who shall refuse the said subscription. True is it, that one Osiander, a notable heretic (as Melancthon noteth, and I doubt not of his followers) did hereat take many exceptions, greatly inveighing against that order. He cried out, O wickedness, O tyranny, O cruelty, Christian liberty is hereby restrained, a yoke and bondage laid upon men's consciences, godly men's mouths hereby shall be stopped. It is not tolerable ; it is unlawful. Even as many cry out in these days, and that which is least to be borne withal by such as account themselves very great lawyers.

He likewise (as evidently it may be collected) did bitterly inveigh against such as did subscribe. "And he gloried (saith Melancthon) that he had retained his liberty, and not admitted these bonds. And these outcries (as it followeth in the same place) in so great licentiousness and confusion of this time, are plausible with many who take to themselves an infinite liberty of coining new opinions, and in a Pirronious sort of the overthrowing of all things which have been rightly determined."

Howbeit, notwithstanding this mislike of what schismatics soever, that Church to this day requireth this subscription, and Melancthon himself, by sundry good arguments, approveth the same, in his oration "*De Calumniis Osiandri*."

I might here add, how, in times past, emperors, kings, and generally, all Christians, subscribed to the decrees of the Church, either by themselves or by their substitutes, and I would to God the same order were yet observed, especially by our justices of peace in England. Peradventure it would make them more careful than they are in the performance of their oaths, which they take (as it is reported) when they are admitted into those rooms, especially concerning the punishment of such persons as are complained of unto them to be common depravers and contemners of the orders of the Church. For herein (I am afraid) they take as great liberty to dispense with themselves as ever the pope did with any by his fond and grossest pardons.

But touching ecclesiastical persons, it was commanded about twelve hundred and seventy years ago, that certain men having by schism and heresy divided themselves from the Church of

God, and rent in sunder by their factions the peace thereof, should not again be received or admitted before they had subscribed to the constitutions of the Church. Thus the words stand in the 8th canon of the Council of Nice:—"Let them first take of them this confession, and that under their hand-writing, that they promise with all consent to observe hand-writing, that they promise with all consent to observe the statutes of the Catholic Church."

Whereas, therefore, we have at this time many Osiandrians amongst us, and many over-busy in searching and trying to make new quarrels of matters before compounded. You see what spirits they are, and need no further trial to discern them. God grant unto them more humble and sober minds, that they may no longer continue this rebellion against the Church of God. And thus much of the second part.

"Believe not every spirit."

That which hitherto hath been spoken doth contain divers and very sufficient reasons why you ought not to believe every spirit. There are many of them false, contemptuous, ambitious, proud, and covetous; whom, if you find (knowing yourselves to be thoroughly grounded in matters of salvation) to draw you, by slanderous speeches and false collections, into a mislike of other points agreed upon by the Church, thereby troubling your peace, and feeding your ears by plausible devises. I beseech you, with the apostle, in this place, believe them not.

When the Queen's most excellent Majesty had first obtained the crown (which God of his great mercy grant she may long enjoy), as a most zealous Solomon, Jehosaphat, and Josias, her principal care was how to abolish Popish superstition and idolatry, and to place in her people's hearts a right and true feeling of Christian religion. Wherein, through the great diligence of all the godly and learned in the realm, in disputing, examining, and trying of spirits, of prophets, and of their doctrines, with what notable success her highness did proceed, they are very ignorant that know it not; and very froward and obstinate that, knowing it, will not with all thankfulness acknowledge it.

All the Churches in Europe which were then reformed, understanding of our Reformation, did on our behalf clap, as it were, their hands for joy. The apology of the Church of England, which shortly after was set forth to the justifying of our doctrine, with the reasons of our mislike of Popery, hath ever since obtained principal commendation amongst all the apologies and confessions which hitherto have been set forth by any Church in Christendom. The Papists only, in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, did show themselves to be therewith dis-

contented. Marry, now of late years we have gotten new adversaries.

Who would ever have thought that he should have lived to have heard any Protestants reprove our religion, or would ever have dreamed of such division or intolerable bitterness against the maintainers of it? It must be confessed, of a truth, that Bernard saith, upon the like occasion, "We have escaped the lions' mouths, but now are fallen into a den of dragons—our friends are turned into our enemies."* And you know the old saying, "When brethren fall out they grow to great extremities." The Papists did never deal with more eagerness against us than these men do now.

They say that, "As the State is now of the Church, we can have no right religion; that the Church of England hath neither the word of God rightly preached, nor the sacraments sincerely ministered; that the truth doth but in a manner, as it were behind a screen, peep out amongst us; and that we have mixed together in our religion Christ and antichrist, God and the devil." Divers such slanderous speeches you shall find everywhere in all their writings. I beseech you, brethren, believe them not. Or if any shall neglect this apostolical admonition, let him then likewise take part of the like reprehension: "O you foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should either thus deprave or revolt from the truth."

Again, as touching the communion-book, you know what quarrels are picked against it, although, for my own opinion, there is not the like this day extant in Christendom.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, notwithstanding it was then carefully compiled and confirmed by a synod, yet, by and by, after (that I may use Master Fox's words), "through the obstinate and dissembling malice of many," it was impugned. Thereupon it was again reviewed, and after published with such approbation as that it was accounted the work of God. But yet, not long after, there were again who, affirming the same to resemble the Mass Book, "did greedily hunt (as Alesius saith) for occasion of division; weighing and sifting the very words, yea, almost every syllable in it."

Whereupon Archbishop Cranmer procuring the same book to be translated into Latin, and requiring M. Bucer's judgment of it, received this his approbation: "That there was nothing therein contained which was not taken out of the word of God, or, at the least, which was against it, being well understood. Some things, indeed, there are," saith he, "which, except a

* Epis. 190.

man do charitably interpret, may seem not sufficiently to agree with the word of God." And in another place, "which may be snatched of unquiet men to breed matter of contention."

Upon this occasion the book was again carefully surveyed, and almost in every point (which then was so cavilled at and wrested) corrected and amended. King Edward died—Queen Mary succeeded. The book is condemned, but yet God raised up means for the defence of it.

Master John Ould, a very learned man, wrote a treatise against the Papists in defence of this said book, and of every part of the Reformation enjoined in King Edward's days. Archbishop Cranmer likewise, being provoked thereunto, did offer a challenge to all the Papists living, that if he might obtain the Queen's favour to take unto him Peter Martyr and four or five others whom he would choose, they would together defend the foresaid Reformation (naming withal the communion-book) to be in every point agreeable to the word of God, and to be in effect the very same which was above fifteen hundred years ago.

Another also, in those days, as it appeareth in a preface before Archbishop Cranmer's book of "Unwritten Verities," writeth of the communion-book in this manner: "Then (meaning King Edward's days) the Common-prayer was rightly used, and the sacraments were plainly administered according to Christ's institution and the rule of his holy word." Furthermore, the godly Fathers (who then were fled, and for the liberty of their consciences lived in exile), using in their meetings this form and order of public prayer, Master Knox, a man who was of nature too contentious, with some other that had joined with him, began to quarrel, and to make many exceptions against them.

Dr. Grindall, late Archbishop of Canterbury, being then in banishment with them, certified Bishop Ridley, condemned to die, and then in prison in Oxford, of Master Knox's perverse behaviour; whereunto the godly Father answered again in these words (which he said he thought should be the last that ever he should write), "Alas! that brother Knox could not bear with our Book of Common Prayer in matters against which, although I grant a man (as he is) of wit and learning, may find to make apparent reasons, yet, I suppose, he cannot be able soundly, by the word of God, to disprove anything in it."

Afterward, when it pleased Almighty God to bless this realm with the happy government of our sovereign lady the Queen's most excellent Majesty that now is (whom Almighty God long preserve with all health and prosperity, to rule and govern us), the said book in some points bettered together with the truth of

Christian religion, established in her brother's days, was again through God's favour and her goodness restored unto us.

Of this book a certain learned man [Deering], writing against Master Harding, uttereth these words by way of challenge, "Our service is good and godly, every tittle grounded on holy Scriptures, and with what face do you call it darkness? Sure with the same that the prophecies of the Holy Ghost were sometimes called dreams; the doctrine of the apostle's heresy; and our Saviour Christ a Samaritan. As Elias said to the priests of Baal, let us take either our bullocks (meaning the Pope's portuise and our communion-book) and lay the pieces on the altars, and on which God sendeth fire, let that be the light." And a little before, "O Master Harding, turn to your writings, examine your authorities, consider your councils, apply your examples, look if any line be blameable in our service book, and take hold of your advantage, I think Master Jewel will accept it as an article."

Hereby you see, dearly beloved, what account was made of this book in times past, and that by men neither for life nor learning to be any way contemned. But now the case is altered, and many are grown to such a hatred of it, as they scarcely have patience to hear the book once named. Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, Peter Martyr, with many others, as famous men as ever this land brought forth, notwithstanding they employed their whole times very diligently and painfully in the studies of divinity, and other good learnings thereunto appertaining, were compassed about, belike, with such thick clouds and mists of palpable darkness, that they could in a manner see nothing.

Marry, now two or three years study is as good as twenty. It is wonderful to see how some men get perfection. One of four or five and twenty years old, if you anger him, will swear he knoweth more than all the ancient Fathers. And yet, in very deed, they are so earnest and fierce, that either we must believe them, or else account their boldness to be, as it is, most intolerable.

For they are not afraid, even as hath been said, with the same faces that the prophecies of the Holy Ghost were sometimes called dreams; the doctrine of the apostles heresy; and our Saviour Christ a Samaritan; to publish in their writings, that the aforesaid book, so notably approved, hath in it at least above five hundred errors: "That it is full of corruption, confusion, and profanation; that the orders therein prescribed are carnal, beggarly, and antichristian." They say "we eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of our own to make the poor silly souls believe they have an English mass, and so put no differ-

once betwixt truth and falsehood, betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil."

If this were true, beloved, then had we cause to look about us ; but, God be thanked, there is no such matter : it is but contempt, ambition, and self-love that deceiveth them : their tongues and pens are their own, they will write and speak what they list, and yet who shall control them ? Heretics, in former times, looking upon the Scriptures with their eyes, have condemned them of folly. There was never anything so exactly written in the word which is not subject to malice and slander. We desire these men, in as mild and gentle sort as we are able, that they would not deal in this manner.

The very heathen might teach them better modesty. "He that by wresting of laws (saith one of that crew) doth seek to pervert their meaning, whilst he would seem wise he proveth indeed a sycophant."

I have read that if any thing, fact, writing, law, or whatsoever, may in reasonable construction admit two interpretations, the best and the mildest is ever to be received. And the civil lawyers have these rules : "Always, in doubtful matters, the more benign are to be preferred : " "It is not meet to cavil at laws, or to snatch at their words." Another saith, "Laws must not be rejected which by any reasonable interpretation may be reconciled."

By these, and many other the like persuasions, we labour to withdraw them from their wringing and wresting (with such bitterness) those things in the communion-book which either they mislike without cause very unjustly, or else do pervert upon some false collection very extremely. But nothing will serve them ; for now some of them, through a swelling pride of their new conceits (which, as it is commonly noted, hath cast them into a kind of phrenzy), are not afraid to lay their slander upon the Church, and upon her most excellent Majesty ; that since her Highness's reign there hath not been in England any book of public prayers, and order for the administration of sacraments, or any open form for the outward profession of religion, allowed hitherto by the laws of the realm. Another sort, likewise, there are that will not give their heads for the washing, who, of their goodness, are content to allow us a book and form of public prayer confirmed by law, but yet in another sort, even for good nature's sake, and because they would be thankful at the time, they wholly condemn it. For, say they, though they were never an evil word or sentence in all the form of our prayers, yet to appoint that form to be used, though the words be good, the use is nought. As if a man should say (if I attain their mean-

ing), although the words in the Lord's Prayer be good, yet to appoint such a form of prayer the use is nought.

If the Fathers before mentioned, dearly beloved, were now alive to see their dealings herein, how every boy, in a manner, doth take upon him (as though he only were learned, zealous, and wise) to control, condemn, and to rage thus at his pleasure. Surely I suppose they would wish at the least, as Gregory Nazianzen sometime did, seeing in his days the like pride and saucy malpertness of many: "When I consider (saith he) the unbridled itch of tongues which reigneth at this time; and how men by their own voices, as it were, do make themselves divines, and challenge the commendation of learning and wisdom, whom their will alone is able to make learned, I cannot choose but wish with all my heart, with the prophet Jeremiah, that I might go and dwell in the wilderness, so that I might leave the society of men, and give myself only to contemplation."

And for you, my brethren, I am plainly out of doubt that if they said not of them, "I would they were cut off, who thus do trouble you," they would advise you, from the bottom of their hearts, to be ruled by the apostle in this place, "Believe not these spirits."

But very well: seeing they are so greatly offended with this book, what is it they desire themselves? Forsooth, a book they could be contented to have, but it must be of their own making. I beseech you mark and obscure their course taken to this purpose. About four years since, some two or three private men, in a corner, framed a book of the form of common prayer, administration of the sacraments, &c., and without any authority published the same, as meet to be embraced and used in all the parish churches in England. This book they told us was a very perfect book, agreeable to God's word and the use of the Reformed Churches; and in the end thereof a promise is made in these words: "Provided that nothing be done contrary to any order set down in this book." The posy which they have chosen to set in the fore-front of their book, thereby insinuating the excellency of it, is this: "No man can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus." In this book they seem to set down a brief sum of Christianity, and the very absolute form of ecclesiastical government, which they say Christ hath prescribed only to be received with the godly in the Church. And here you shall see, my brethren, a very strange and wonderful stratagem. For would you think that in a book of this nature, describing so perfect a platform of Church government, the civil magistrate should be quite forgotten? Was there ever until this day any public confession set forth by any true Church

in the world, since the prophecies were fulfilled (as St. Augustine saith) that kings and queens should be the fosterers and nurses of the Church, where for any supremacy or government of persons, and in causes ecclesiastical, the civil magistrate is wholly left out? Can there be in a Christian commonweal such an absolute order of ecclesiastical government, as they brag of, set down for the only form which it is necessary to be observed, without any mention of the civil magistrate? Let this sink into your hearts as it shall please God: what if they had obtained their purpose for the allowance of this book? But I will proceed with the history farther.

The next year another book of Common Prayer, &c., with the like authority and commendation that the other had, was cast abroad; or you may call it the same book if you list, so you understand what violence and torments in so tender an age it hath sustained. The whole form and order of it was in a manner changed (they are so constant), and in other places and points of matter there are not so few as six hundred alterations. The wise man, speaking of such revolution, saith, that "a fool doth change as the moon."

In the last page of this book, for manner's sake (as it seemeth), they have remembered the civil magistrate; but that in so cold and sparing a sort, as, in my opinion, there is not a priest in Wesbich who will refuse (the circumstances thereof being considered) to subscribe unto it.

But to go forward. Within another year, a third book is begotten and brought fourth, differing in some points from both the other, and they have been very earnest that this should be allowed of by public authority. Howbeit, if you think their meaning to be, as they seem to pretend, you are wholly deceived. For a simple man would conceive thereby that their purpose is, we should have a prescribed and set form of public prayer to be used from time to time in our several congregations; so, as poor men, by often hearing of them, might the better know and understand them, and peradventure have them by heart, or at the least be so cunning in them as that when the minister shall begin with any prayer, understanding before the drift thereof, their hearts might fully concur with him in every particular sentence, and, with a better resolution in the end, say Amen. But indeed they have no such intent; for you must imagine, though (as the serpent before-mentioned) they have many implications and turnings, yet they have always means and ways to shift for themselves. If they should indeed prescribe unto us a set form of prayer, it might be said that though the words were good, yet the use were nought; and, therefore, you shall find it a general

rule in these rubrics, that the minister shall either pray as there it is set down, or else as the spirit of God shall move his heart to that effect, framing himself according to the time and occasion. So as you see yourselves in this point left to the minister's discretion. If he, conceiving a prayer upon the sudden, shall after say it was to the same purpose that is prescribed in the book, you may not controul him.

And how by such kind of prayers you are like to be edified, and in what danger you are thereby left, he is of simple judgment that cannot discern it. A great man and ringleader in this faction (at the least heretofore so accounted), though otherwise of a giddy disposition and very uncertain, yet hereof upon his good experience he writeth upon occasion, after this sort : " Now what worship or prayers do you use ? " I am ashamed to name the boldness and folly of some, who, scarce able to utter three words orderly, will yet take upon them to babble out a tedious, long, and stuttering prayer, wherein every tenth word shall be the repeating of " O heavenly Father," " O merciful Father," " O dear Father," " O good Lord," " O merciful God," &c., and all things so foolishly packed together that their praying seemeth rather to be the prattling of an infant that would tell some great tale, but cannot hit of it." Thus far the reformer, and yet he saith not all. For sometimes they will so wander, either by error or malice, in framing their prayers answerable to their affections (which are oftentimes maliciously bent against any thing or matter wherewith they are displeased), that no true Christian, if he had time to consider their meaning, ought, in charity, when they have done, to say " Amen." These inconveniences have been long since foreseen, and for the avoiding of them, the Church hath ever tied her ministers, in their ordinary and public service, under a prescript and certain form of prayer.

About twelve hundred years ago it was decreed in the Council of Milevitanum, " It pleased the council that those prayers should be generally used of all men which are approved in a council, and that no other should at all be said in a Church but such as have been sufficiently considered of by wise men, or allowed of in a synod." And the reason which the Council addeth is most effectual ; " Lest peradventure something be uttered or framed, through ignorance or want of due consideration, which may be against the rules of faith."

And, therefore, dearly beloved, seeing these spirits would draw you from the Church, and from those prayers which you know to be godly, and carry you, yea, teach you, they know not whether or what themselves, I beseech you, believe them not.

Thirdly, they cry out that the government of the Church now established in England is both anti-christian and devilish; and that (as I can collect out of their writings) in two respects: First, because where we had before a spiritual Pope, now the civil magistrate is made a temporal Pope; which they show to be far more discommodious to the Church than if they had kept their spiritual Pope still. Secondly, because bishops in their several dioceses have a superiority and authority over the rest of the clergy.

Martin upon this ground took upon him very boldly to reason against the bishops in this sort:—No petty Popes ought to be maintained or tolerated in any Christian commonweal; but our archbishops and lord bishops, &c., therefore, &c. Thus Martin hath reasoned against one part of this anti-christian government. But why stayed he there? Indeed it was time for him to stay. He saith he is a courtier: howbeit I am persuaded there is none there of so undutiful a heart to his sovereign; for though he cunningly would seem to show his malice only against bishops, yet hath he left to be implied the very same reasons against the civil magistrate.

So that upon his principles a man may frame this rebellious argument:—No petty Pope is to be tolerated in a Christian commonwealth. But her Majesty is a petty Pope; therefore her Majesty is not to be tolerated in a Christian commonwealth. And his minor may thus be proved:—Whoever do take upon them, or usurp the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, within their dominions which the Pope had, are petty Popes. But her Majesty doth so: therefore her Majesty is a petty Pope, and so consequently not to be tolerated in a Christian commonwealth. Now surely if Martin were well examined, he is like to prove a very good subject. But for me he must be as he list, seeing neither in respect of God nor his prince he will be as he should be.

Touching the bishops, as you have heard before out of St. Jerome, and as Master Calvin upon his report seemeth to confess, bishops have had this authority which Martin condemneth ever since the evangelist St. Mark's time. Besides, in the most flourishing time of the Church that ever happened since the apostles' days, either in respect of learning or of zeal, Martin's and all his companions' opinion hath herein been condemned for an heresy. Lastly, there is no man living, as I suppose, able to show where there was any church planted, ever since the apostles' times, but there the bishops had authority over the

* Inst. l. iv. c. 4.

rest of the ministry. The place of St. Ambrose will in no way serve their turn. But I will leave this matter, and come to the second part of this their devilish and anti-christian government.

When it pleased Almighty God to deliver this realm of England from the bondage and thralldom of the Bishop of Rome, it was thought agreeable to the word of God by the chiefest and best learned men of the religion in all Christendom, that not only the title of supreme governor over all persons and in all cases, as well ecclesiastical as civil, did appertain and ought to be annexed to the crown ; but likewise all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities, which by usurpation at any time did appertain to the Pope.

In this supremacy these principal points were contained : that the King hath *ordinary* authority in causes ecclesiastical ; that he is the chiefest in the decision and determination of Church causes ; that he hath ordinary authority for making all laws, ceremonies, and constitutions of the Church ;* that without his authority, no such laws, ceremonies, or constitutions are or ought to be of force ; and, lastly, that all appellations which before were made to Rome, should ever be made hereafter to his Majesty's Chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by delegates.

The pre-eminence and authority was greatly impugned by the Pope and his adherents ; but, notwithstanding, it was so nobly defended by the sundry writings of rare and special men in all gifts of piety and learning, as that hitherto (God's name be blessed for it) the truth therein hath notably prevailed. Among many books which have been written for this purpose, you shall find these very learnedly penned :—one “ On the true difference of Regal and Ecclesiastical Power ;” another, written by Master Bekinsawe, “ On the supreme and absolute government of the King ;” a third “ On true obedience,” written by a man at that time in this point well affected. Likewise (as you may read in Master Fox) Cuthbert Tonsal, Bishop of Durham, and John Stokeslie, Bishop of London, wrote a short treatise in form of a letter to Cardinal Poole, then resiant [resident] in Rome, very effectually compiled to the same effect. Lastly, you cannot but remember with what learning and authority this matter hath been defended by Bishop Jewel against Harding ; by Bishop Horne

* That is to say—so far as the Church is a body politic connected with the State ; for as to her spiritual functions and powers, they pertain in no wise to the King, but are refused to him by the 37th Article. See Appendix to the Part.

against Fecknam ; by the Dean of St. Paul's against Dorman ; by Dr. Ackworth (as it is supposed) against Saunders ; and by divers others, as occasions have been offered by the Papists.

I am persuaded there was never cause more thoroughly handled, and the issue betwixt them was ever this ; whether the King within his dominions, or the Bishop of Rome, might by the word of God rightly challenge the aforesaid authority.

Marry, now a third sort of men are risen up in the world, who do affirm that they all joined upon a wrong issue ; and that the authority which both sides laboured for doth indeed appertain unto their presbyters and ecclesiastical senates. I should be loth, dearly beloved, to abuse you with untruths ; and therefore I have thought good to make this matter more plain unto you by a very manifest example, authorized in a declaration published by the King of Scots.

About some six or seven years ago (as I do imagine) certain men of the new government, intending the erection of these new presbyteries in Scotland, began their parts and proceeded as followeth :—

They did greatly inveigh against the superiority of bishops, and likewise repined at the King's authority in causes ecclesiastical ; whereupon, in his minority, a certain number of ministers gathering to themselves certain gentlemen and divers others, did erect, by their own authority, their ecclesiastical senates ; and usurping all the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, did alter the laws at their own pleasures, without the knowledge and approbation either of the King or State. They likewise took upon them to discharge the estate of bishops, and to declare the same to be unlawful ; directing their commissioners to the King, and commanding him and the council, under pain of excommunication, never afterwards to appoint any more bishops, because they had concluded that estate to be unlawful.

They prescribed laws to the King and State, and appointed general fastings throughout the realm when they thought good, especially when some factioners in the country were to move any great enterprize.

Besides, divers of the ministers having preached very factious and seditious doctrine, and being in that respect called before the King to answer the complaints made against them, they utterly disclaimed the King's authority, as an incompetent judge, alleging for themselves, that for such matters as were spoken in the pulpit they ought to be exempt from the judgment and correction of princes, denying his authority in causes ecclesiastical.

The King giving commandment upon the Saturday to certain

noblemen for the feasting of the Ambassador of France in Edinburgh the next Monday after, a number of the presbytery understanding thereof, assembled themselves together on Sunday, in the morning, and presumptuously caused the ministers to proclaim a fast to be held the same Monday, and could by no means be entreated to alter their determination therein. So as whilst the lords and the chief of the city, according to the King's commandment, were about the entertainment of the ambassador, the ministers, one after another, all the day long in their several sermons were bitterly inveighing against them, and had it not been for the King's great importunity, they had been all excommunicated.

But yet another prank which they played passed all these. The King, with the advice of his estates in Parliament, having resolved upon a certain fact committed by some of his subjects, that it was treason, these men, in their assembly (esteeming their judgment to be the sovereign judgment of the realm), did not only approve the same fact as lawful, contrary to the said act of Parliament, but ordained all of them to be excommunicated who would not subscribe to their determination therein.

When the King saw what course these men held, and how, notwithstanding the equality they pretended, they sought altogether their own advancement; how they erected that in themselves which they had dejected in the bishops; how they took more upon them than ever the bishops had done; how they did imitate preposterously the Papal jurisdiction; how, under pretence of their presbyteries, they trod upon his sceptre, and laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God or man could tolerate; and perceiving withal that the new erected government was the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition, and rebellion; that it was an introduction to Anabaptism and popularity; that it tended to the overthrow of his state and realm, and to the decay of his crown; and that he must either discharge himself of the crown, or the ministry of that form of government—by consent and act of Parliament, 1584, he overthrew their presbyteries, and restored the bishops again to their places. All this you may find more at large set down by the King himself, in his said declaration.

It may here be said (for they dare say what they list) that now the King is of another mind, and that this declaration was made when he had conceived some displeasure against them.

For the King, he is not altered. His crown and their sovereignty will not agree together. And what cause he had to proceed against them as he did, although it be great boldness in

such a case not to rest satisfied in the word of such a king, yet for your better understanding, what to think of this kind of government (for never a barrel will prove the better herring), you shall hear the opinion of one of our own countrymen, who was in Scotland about the same time, and observed very diligently the wonderful pride and insolence thereof. "I judge (saith he, writing of this Parliament now assembled) that if the Parliament should establish such names, and those the officers according to those names which seek their own discipline, that then, instead of one Pope, we should have a thousand, and of some lord bishops in name a thousand; lordly tyrants, indeed, which now do disclaim the names. This I have found by experience to be true. I can testify by trial of Scotland, which have travelled it over in their best reformed places—as in Dundee, St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, and sundry other towns—and have known the King in great danger and fear of his life by their lordly discipline," &c. And again, "I have seen all manner of wickedness to abound much more in their best places in Scotland than in our worser places here in England."

Furthermore, it may please you, brethren, to hear the same man's judgment of such as do labour so busily in this matter, in a treatise of his against one Barow. "Whereas you charge us (saith he) in denying Christ in his offices, and consequently not to be come in the flesh; it shall appear by your presbytery or aldermen, that indeed you are and will be the aldermen even to pull the most ancient of all, Christ Jesus himself, by the beard; yea, and seek not only to shake him by the locks of his hair out of his offices, but also all his ancients under him; I mean the lawful magistrates and ministers which have lawful authority from him. Wherefore not we, but you rather, seek the glittering blaze of great name: and if once you might get up the names of elders and presbyters, what mischief, cruelty, and pride would not stream from that name, even as fire from a blazing star, to set on fire the whole world? For every busy fool, the more busy he were in discrediting others, and seeking master-ship among the people, the better elder he should be judged. Yea, and this new name of an elder given him were even as a sacrament of grace, and would seal up all his knavery; that whatsoever filthiness dropped from him, yet the skirt of his ancient's gown shall cover it."

This man's opinion herein I know will be greatly contemned, because I think he hath been of another judgment. But yet they may give him leave to speak, as his experience (which is no foolish master) hath taught him. For commonly it comes

to pass when rash men run headlong into any new devices that their afterwits are best. Howbeit, let him find what favour at their hands he shall, I must indeed confess, that if this matter had only depended upon his report or opinion, I would not at this time have made mention of him. But it is far otherwise. For, indeed, if their proceedings be better considered, that which he hath said, either of his judgment touching their presbyteries, or of his experience in Scotland concerning their practices, and that even against the King, it is in a manner nothing.

I beseech you, brethren, especially you that have been brought up in learning, and are able to look into this cause, do but consider how the chief magistrates have been used and dealt withal, wheresoever this absolute government, which they speak of, hath been erected. Read the writings of the chiefest pillars of these platforms, as the book, "*De jure magistratuum in subditos*:" the book entitled, "*Vindiciæ contra tyrannos*:" another, "*De jure regni apud Scotos*:" "*The Dialogues of Eusebius Philadelphus*," with sundry other of that sort; and you shall find in them the most strange and rebellious propositions stiffly maintained, dilated, and amplified.

"The people of themselves may set up God's service, and abrogate superstition. It is lawful for the people, by force of arms, to resist the prince, if he hinder the building of the Church:" that is (as it appeareth by the whole drift almost of that book) their presbyteries. "The people that do not resist the prince, affecting the seat of God (that is, claiming supremacy in causes ecclesiastical), do, as it were, offer sacrifice to idols. If princes do hinder them that seek for this discipline, they are tyrants both to the Church and ministers (saith one of them), and, being tyrants, they may be deposed by their subjects," as they do generally all of them hold.

I dare avow it unto you, brethren, and I think no man will make exception against it, that if all were laid before you that the Popes have done against princes, it is not more than these men defend may be put in execution, when they think good, by themselves and the people.

I might make this thing very plain unto you by divers particular examples, which they greatly allow and propound to themselves for their imitation, were it not that the very naming of them would grow offensive unto you all. Only in generality it may please you to understand what is written to this purpose in a book printed at Geneva, and compiled by three or four, whose names I know not. "Although (say they) the Popes, for sundry enormities, have deposed princes by their unlawful autho-

rity, yet the reason that moved them so to do was honest and just, and meet to be received and executed by the body or state of every commonwealth."

If any do here object that I stand too long upon this matter, considering that these things do touch men's dealings and writings in other countries, and cannot in any sort be applied to our Reformers in England, my answer is, that I wish from the bottom of my heart it were so; but I greatly fear, by that which already is done, that except there be, in time, very good order taken, it will fall out far otherwise.

For it seemeth to me, that whatsoever hath been done herein abroad is laboured for to be put in execution here with us at home. Our bishops, you see how unchristianly they are handled—even with more contumely and disdainful reproach than ever it is to be read that the heathen used against their priests, of what condition and behaviour soever.

Her Majesty (for whose happy estate and long life he that will not pray unto almighty God deserveth neither state nor life in this commonwealth), in that she taketh upon her to rule, as she doth in matters concerning the Church, according to the lawful authority which is united unto her crown, is by these men cunningly resembled unto all the wicked kings and others, of whom we read in Scriptures, that they took upon them unlawfully to intrude themselves into the priests' office; as unto Saul, for his offering of sacrifice; unto Osias, for his burning of incense upon the altar of incense; unto Gideon, for his making an ephod; and unto Nadab and Abihu, for their offering of strange fire.

And they affirm, that no civil magistrate hath pre-eminence by ordinary authority, either to determine of Church causes, or to make ecclesiastical orders and ceremonies. That no civil magistrate hath such authority, as that without his consent it should not be lawful for ecclesiastical persons to make and publish Church orders. That "they which are no elders of the Church have nothing to do with the government of the Church." And whereas Master Harding saith, "that the office of a king in itself is one everywhere, not only among Christian princes, but also among the heathen;" and therefore concludeth that a Christian prince hath no more to do in deciding of Church matters, or in making ceremonies and orders for the Church, than hath a heathen: Master Cartwright alloweth of his judgment, and doth expressly affirm that he is of the same opinion, possessing his dislike of those who teach another right of a Christian and of a profane magistrate. So as, indeed, they attribute in effect no more to her Majesty, and all other civil magistrates, than the Papists do, which is "*potestatem facti non*

juris" [executive and not legislative]; I know how some of them shuffle to avoid this accusation, pretending that they give the princes more than "potestatem facti:" for our men do think they may say what they list, and salve it again at their own pleasure: marry, Gellius Sneecanus, he dealeth more plainly, and, commending this distinction, saith in express words, that the legislative doth pertain to the ministry, although the execution of the fact in civil causes do appertain to the civil magistrate.

Now seeing, dearly beloved, how far these men are gone already upon their own heads, who knoweth whether in short time they will not disclaim her Majesty's authority, if they shall be called to answer to their misdemeanors, especially if they concern matters of the pulpit; or whether they purpose to discharge the estate of bishops, and to erect of themselves their new found plat for government? What they will do I know not, but what they have written you shall hear.

"If this Reformation (said one of them, when he was of that humour) be not hastened forward by the magistrate, the subjects ought not any longer to tarry for him, but do it themselves." The author of the second admonition (against whom, as I think, there will no exception be taken) affirmeth that he and his fellows "are forced in conscience to speak for this new order, and (as he saith) to use it." And in another place, that "there is many a thousand that desire the same that he doth, and that great troubles will come of it if it be not provided for." I think he meaneth, if they obtain not their desire. Another is likewise very peremptory and resolute, that the "Presbytery must prevail; and if it come to pass (saith he to the bishops) by that means which will make your hearts to ache, blame yourselves." Martin, in his first book, threatened fists; and, in his second, he wisheth that our Parliament, which is now assembled, would put down lord bishops, and bring in the Reformation which they look for, whether her Majesty will or no. Let the place be considered, whether I have attained to his meaning. Surely whilst he talketh much of treason, I fear he will be found a traitor himself.

For how can he conceive that such a thing should be brought to pass (if her Majesty do her best to withstand it), without a rebellion, at the least, that I may go no farther. Hath not her highness, in making of laws, a negative voice? Is not *lex principis opus* [law the work of the prince]? Hath not every law *vim cogentem* [compelling power] of the King?*

I assure you, my brethren, these are desperate points to be

* See Appendix to the Part.

stood in. And I do verily fear that, except good order be taken, and that in time, these things will grow to some extremities. For, seeing these spirits of ours do follow so exactly, and with such hot pursuit, the outlandish precepts touching the form of their new government, is it not to be provided for, lest they fall to the outlandish means likewise (mentioned before in their traitorous propositions) for the erecting and establishing thereof?

I was informed by a magistrate of right good worship, that a preacher of this faction, in the presence of certain justices of the peace, and in a very great congregation, did, without controlment, convention, or binding over, either to the sessions or assizes, set on broach the doctrine of the former propositions for violent reformation.

He greatly complained of the manifold imperfections, wherewithal (as he said) the Church of England was grievously oppressed, and laboured very earnestly to persuade his auditory that in France it was lawful for the people, or inferior magistrates, to compel their prince to a reformation of any such deformities, or else, whether he would or no, to do it themselves. As though he should have said, if, by the word of God, it be lawful in France, it is likewise lawful in England, the duty of subjects to their kings, in that respect, being one in both.

If these things, dearly beloved, which I have reported unto you (in sort as I have insisted upon them) be not true, let me be called to mine answer; but if they be true, then, I trust, you will confess the necessity of this exhortation (so far as concerneth your duties) which here the apostle maketh: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit;" take heed of such spirits, lest they seduce you, and believe them not.

St. Paul, in his epistle to Titus, doth straightly in him command us, that after one or two admonitions we should avoid the company of an heretic. Upon which place some learned men do observe, that the apostle's doctrine there appertaineth but unto private men. "For (say they) if he had written the same to civil magistrates, he would have bidden them, after one or two admonitions, to have punished with due severity all such kind of persons." And even so say I touching this place. The apostle exhorteth you that be private men, that you believe not every spirit; but concerning you that be magistrates, I am sure the apostolical doctrine doth command you, that by your authority you carefully endeavour to suppress such spirits. Martin affirmeth that the bishops are in fault that there are so many schisms this day amongst us, and, I confess, I am myself in some part of his opinion, but yet no further than the same reprehension is to be extended generally unto all other magistrates. St.

Basil, in his time, finding the like jars and disorders that we have now amongst us, how (as it is in the book of Judges) every man did even what he list himself—"he (saith he) perceived this was the cause; for that (as it is there noted) 'in those days, there was no king in Israel;' that is, God was not regarded, or, as it may truly be said, the magistrates did not their duties." For there is no great difference betwixt having none at all, and having of such as do neglect the charge which is committed unto them.

Nay, surely mine opinion is, that if there were not some (whether bishops, or men of as great or greater authority) that do in some sort favour these spirits, they would never have grown either in number so many, or in their dealings to have been so violent.

That which Master Calvin writeth may very fitly be applied to this purpose: "None would have opened their mouths in this sort, except the base and rascal sort of men had seen that thereby they should gratify some men in authority, and were to be rewarded; for their evil speaking and lies would soon have died, if they were not nourished by those for whose pleasure they were published."*

Be it that hitherto you have been moved to spare them with their great show of zeal; for, as Cicero saith, "The best men do least of all suspect others to be evil;" yet now that you see into how desperate and dangerous a course they are fallen, your farther bearing them will not be well excused. They are almost come (as Tertullian noteth of such like men) from words to blows. Her Majesty is depraved, her authority impugned, and great dangers are threatened. Civil government is called into question, princes' prerogatives are curiously scanned, the interest of the people in kingdoms is greatly advanced, and all government generally is pinched at and contemned. The Church is condemned, the ancient Fathers are despised, your preachers are defaced, and yet these men are tolerated.†

Let it be held for good policy, "ut anseribus cibaria locentur et canes alantur in Capitolio," for fear of thieves in the night; "but yet (as Cicero saith) if they will gaggle and make noise in the day-time without any cause, I think it very fit they be rapped on the shins." And even so it is with these, our prophets and adherents, as it followeth in the same place—"Some of them are geese, which only gaggle and cannot hurt; others are dogs,

* Epist. 171.

† It will be seen from this, and other equally indefensible passages, that Bancroft was not free from the intolerant spirit of his age.

which both can bark and bite ; and yet we see them maintained. But you that are magistrates ought rather to restrain them."

Zanchius, in his epistle before his answer to Holderus, the Arian, being greatly moved with the like schismatics in Germany, doth cry out in the bitterness of his heart, "O tempora ! O mores ! What times are these wherein we live, and how are men in their manners grown to be monstrous ? I beseech Almighty God (saith he, using the very words which Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, upon the like occasion had once used), that either it would please his Majesty to repress the wicked attempts of these firebrands, or else to take me out of this life, that I may never behold the miseries and calamities which, of necessity, thereby must fall upon the Church." He exhorteth the magistrates that they would more diligently look unto their duties than beforetime they had done. "For why is every one suffered (saith he) to write what he list, and to rail upon every man at his pleasure, and so, by that means, to destroy the Church ?"

Nay, surely, if ye look not to this gear in time, this judgment doth but "begin at the house of God," and it will proceed further—to the overthrow of all government. God, of his infinite mercy, open your eyes that you may see these dangers, and grant you both grace and courage that you may, in due time, prevent them.

And now, unto you all, dearly beloved, who having no authority to repress these spirits, must carefully look about you, that you be not deceived, I beseech you, with the apostle, do not believe them.

The doctrine of the Church of England is pure and holy ; the government thereof, both in respect of her Majesty and of our bishops, is lawful and godly ; the book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God.

All these points have been notably approved and maintained, not only against the Papists, but likewise against some other schismatics ; and you yourselves, with great joy and comfort, have in times past embraced them accordingly. If any of you now, my brethren, be otherwise affected, the fault is in yourselves, for they remain (as the nature of truth requireth) to be as they were before ; but you, through your rashness in following of every spirit, are grown to a wonderful new-fangleness, and are indeed become mere changelings. "As the same earth (says Gregory Nazianzen) appeareth immoveable to those that are in health, which to the giddy doth seem to turn about," so you, my brethren, by following the persuasion of false prophets (who, as Irenæus saith of the self-same things, have not always

the same opinions), are drawn to an unjust dislike of the Church, and according to your love or hate, your judgments upon the self-same things do vary and alter."

See, I pray you, what dislike is able to work, and, therefore, take heed of those who shall endeavour, through lies and slanders, to make the truth, and the preachers thereof, odious and hateful unto you. For, as the apostle writeth, "They are jealous over you amiss, even for their own purpose and commodity; yea, they would exclude you from the doctrine they have received at our hands, and from the affection and love which you once bare unto us, that you might altogether love them and follow their devices." And that is the end of their railing and libelling. It hath always been the manner of heretics to bring their lives into hatred whose doctrine they cannot confute; knowing that by the contempt of the one doth easily ensue the dislike of the other.

Howbeit, they will pretend that the zeal of God's glory doth move them to such bitterness against the present state of religion, and against the chief maintainers of it; and that for conscience sake, and for the glory of Sion, they are driven to use such more than tragical outcries. But [S.] Bernard will not suffer them to hide their malice under these masks, who, writing against certain schismatics in his time, saith, "Some do plainly and irreverently, even as it comes into their stomach, spew out the poison of their slanders."* Marry, others there be who cover their malice more cunningly, nay, more hypocritically, as though all they said proceeded from mere love and Christian charity, of whom it followeth, "You shall see some that, after they have set divers great sighs and groans, will presently, with great gravity and drawing out of their words, with a heavy countenance, with casting down their heads, and with a pitiful voice, breathe out malediction; the which men do rather believe, because it seemeth, by such their hypocritical dealing, rather to proceed of a sorrowful compassion than of malice and hatred." But, dearly beloved, take heed of these spirits. Where you find these conditions, believe not, I pray you, any such protestations.

Furthermore, you shall have some that will come unto you with a long tale, protesting that they cannot refrain their tears with the ancient men in Ezra, to see the foundations of our new temple not to be answerable (as they say) to the beauty of the old. And herein they think they should be very acceptable unto you; whereas, in truth, the crying of those aged men was a great discouragement to the builders, and one of the principal

* Sermon super Cant. 24.

lets why the work went no better forward; and the prophet Haggai was sent from God to reprove them for it, allowing, nay, preferring in some respects, the new building, which they had then in hand, before the other, which some so much affected.

So as, dearly beloved, when you hear the like cries, in anywise, believe them not, but rather shout aloud for joy (as there it is likewise noted), in that you have lived to see your temples purged from the leaven of Popery, and to flourish as they do with the sincerity and truth of Christian religion.

They will, furthermore (the better to creep into your hearts), pretend great humility, and bitterly exclaim against the pride of bishops, as though they affected nothing else by their desired equality but some great lowliness, and to prostrate themselves at your feet for your service; whereas, indeed, they shoot at greater superiority and pre-eminence than ever your bishops did use or challenge unto them, and would, no doubt, tyrannize, by their censures, over both prince and people at their pleasure, in most intolerable and pope-like manner.

As partly you may gather by the premises, and partly furthermore understand, in that not only they do use the very same arguments for the sovereign authority of their presbyteries against the prince, in causes ecclesiastical, that the Pope doth for his principality in the same (and none other, so far as I can read, or, I think, can be showed by any), but do likewise make to all our arguments for her Majesty's supremacy against them the very same answers (if not word for word, yet always in effect) that Harding, Stapleton, Dorman, and Saunders have made to the same arguments used by Bishop Jewel, Bishop Horn, Master Nowell, and others, to the same purpose, and against the Pope. I cannot stand to enter into any particular examples of this matter, only I thought it necessary, at this time, to advertise you of it (take his advantage thereof who list), that you might the better beware of such kind of spirits.

You have heard them, I am sure, greatly exclaim against our bishops' livings, as though they had too much, thereby to persuade you with what simple allowance they could content themselves; and yet (as you have heard) they reckon all the livings of the Church too little for themselves—condemning you of the laity, who either have, or would have, part with them, for corruptors, Dionysians, for such wicked traitors against the Church as Judas was against Christ.

They would gladly seem to be very godly, zealous, and religious; and yet, notwithstanding, if you rely on St. James, his opinion, and judge of them by the usage of their tongues, in

their immodest speeches and libelling, you shall find their profession thereof to be full of so great vanity, as that particularly it may be verified of almost every one of them, "*Hujus vana est religio.*"

If they set forth a book of common prayers, then caution is made that nothing be done contrary to anything set down in the same. If they decree anything in their synods (yea, though it be in civil matters) against an act of Parliament, that treason is not treason, yet if you withstand them you are forthwith accursed; or as touching Church causes, except it should so fall out that they do err in their determinations, and that in some great matter of faith, all men must stand unto their orders, decrees, laws, and constitutions.

But, on the other side, if the Church, indeed, upon sufficient grounds, shall either publish a book, or command anything to be observed, though that which is commanded have been determined of, not only by provincial or national synods, but by all the General Councils in effect which were held before the tyranny of Popery, "yet (as St. Bernard saith, in like case) they stick at all things which are enjoined—they require the reason of everything—they suspect amiss of every precept—and will never willingly hold themselves contented but when they hear that which peradventure doth please them."

They sift, they search, and condemn at their pleasure. This is too much, that is too little—this is too long, that is too short—this is idolatrous, that is superstitious—this is wanting, that is superfluous—this is not aright, that is awry—and, as St. Augustine saith, "They think well of nothing but of that they do themselves." If they expound a place of Scripture, as they do that whereof I spake before, "Tell the Church," and those likewise which they bring for the proof of their aldermen [elders]—though they therein dissent among themselves, and from the interpretations of all the ancient Fathers who ever lived, yet we must believe them (as Hosius spake of the Church of Rome)—that what they say is the very word of God.

If they allege unto us the authority of Fathers and Councils to prove the equality of ministers, the authority of their lay governors, and the continuance of their presbyteries since the apostles' times, though therein they pervert them all most grossly (and, I fear, of purpose to deceive you, my brethren, even against their own consciences, and contrary to the express meaning of the said Fathers and Councils, even in those places which they bring and infinite others), yet they will face out the matter with very strange boldness, and be more than offended

that any should examine, or seem to mistrust them. I could bring you divers examples hereof, but one of each sort shall suffice.

To prove the equality which they say ought to be in the ministers of the word and sacraments, they allege [SS.] Cyprian, Ambrose, &c., affirming that in those times there was no difference betwixt a bishop and a priest, but that all had equal authority within their own parishes, and that whosoever was a bishop was a priest, and whosoever was a priest (that is, a minister of the word and sacraments) was a bishop; whereas, in the whole course of their writings, the contrary is most manifest. Never man besides themselves (to my understanding) did so expound them: the ecclesiastical histories report of those times otherwise, and within less than a hundred years after [S.] Cyprian, and either before or in [S.] Ambrose's days, it was condemned as an heresy for any to hold that opinion.

Again, to prove the authority of their aldermen (which do neither preach nor administer the sacraments), with the use and practice thereof in every Church long after the apostles' times, they allege certain places out of [S.] Ignatius, Tertullian, [S.] Jerome, &c., where mention is made of priesthood, of colleges, councils, and companies of priests, that joined with the bishops for the better government of the Church, and execution of certain particular duties.

Whereas, besides that Master Calvin himself, writing on the state of the Church presently after the apostles' days, confesseth that those priests were ministers of the word and sacraments. "Every city had a college of priests, which were pastors and doctors;" the very authors themselves, almost in every part of their works, do call the said priests "sacerdotes" (which cannot agree to these lay aldermen), distinguishing them in direct terms from laymen, and do ascribe unto them ordinarily authority for the administration both of word and sacraments, as all writers, fathers, councils, and histories, from that time till this, have ever (these men excepted) accounted of them, that is, as of pastors, doctors, and ministers of the Gospel.

But of all other, in my opinion, the last example appertaining to this purpose is most notable. For the better understanding whereof, you must know that the Church of God, ever since the apostles' times, hath distributed the ecclesiastical ministry principally unto these three parts—bishops, priests, and deacons,* according as it is contained in the Apology of the Church of England: "We believe that there be divers degrees of ministers

* See the Preface to the Ordination Service Book.

in the Church—whereof some be deacons, some priests, some bishops—to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the charge and setting forth of religion.”

This division our new reformers with one consent do allow for the very platform of their desired government. But their exposition of the parts thereof is agreeable to that which is before observed of them; even contrary to the profession which we have hitherto made to all the world, and contrary to the testimonies of all antiquity. By bishops, they say, was meant the ministers of the word and Sacraments, without any distinctions of degree, or any inequality for government or authority: and by priests, their lay elders only.

And upon this presumption and very gross falsification of the ancient Fathers, the chief ringleader in this crew is not afraid to use these words, “If master doctor had ever read the ecclesiastical histories, he might have found, easily, the eldership most flourishing in Constantine’s time and other times, when as the peace of Christians was greatest.”*

For reply whereunto, Master Doctor Whitgift, now Archbishop of Canterbury, having desired him that was so cunning in the ecclesiastical histories to bring forth that one that affirmeth this kind of government to have been under Constantinus: about three years after, he brought out Eusebius, who must do this feat for him, in that he saith there were bishops, elders, and deacons at the Council of Nice.†

But you shall hear this skilful man in histories, how he applieth the authority of Eusebius. “It is manifest (saith he) that the Churches were governed under him (meaning Constantinus) as before, by bishops, elders, and deacons, by that which is cited of an infinite number of elders and deacons which came to the Council of Nice, with the two hundred and fifty bishops.”

Here you see how gladly this fellow would have you to believe that this their government, so earnestly now sought for, did most of all flourish about the time of the Council of Nice, that then there was no difference betwixt a bishop and a minister of the word, but were both of them of equal authority, and that then their lay elders had their consistory with the rest of their companions in every parish.

Whereas all the world knoweth that Eusebius meaneth nothing else in that place, but to signify the great appearance from all places, of the clergymen of all sorts, in that most honourable synod. And it is likewise apparent, by the sixth canon of the

* T. C. l. i. p. 183.

† Ibid, l. iii. p. 67.

said council, that long before that time, bishops had very large jurisdictions, as the Bishop of Alexandria is said, according to an old custom, to have authority or power over all Egypt or Pentapolis.

Nay, it is manifested by the history of those and of former times, that, as at the first, for the repressing of schisms, bishops had authority given them over the rest of the clergy; so, upon good experience and long proof, that the bishops, being many in number, did grow themselves likewise at some jars, it seemed good unto that council, with the emperor's consent, for the better government of them, in like manner to divide the whole body of Christendom into four patriarchships, whereof the first was Rome, which had authority over Italy and other Churches of the west—the second, Alexandria, which had confirmed unto it the old jurisdiction before mentioned—the third, Antioch, which was over Syria—and the fourth, Jerusalem, that ruled the Churches in Jewry.

So as he that should dream of any such presbyteries in Constantine's time, as our new men talk of, must either be very much distempered, very ignorant, or very malicious. This I am sure of, that men of such a faculty, can never want authority to prove what they list. And, therefore, as I said, so I say again, my brethren, that if they shall allege any of the said ancient Fathers, councils, or histories, to prove the equality of ministers, the government of their aldermen, and the continuance of their presbyteries, since the apostles' times, they always abuse themselves, falsify their authors, and endeavour to deceive their readers and hearers; I beseech you, dearly beloved, believe them not.

I might here likewise put you in mind how these prophets, who seek to withdraw you from the Church established, are rent in sunder and divided amongst themselves. They have written books one against another, and do most bitterly condemn the doings and proceedings one of another. "You (saith one of them), in that you separate yourselves from the public assemblies in England, are grown to become plain Donatists and heretics:" "You (saith the other), in that you have laid the foundations whereupon we stand, and yet do join yourselves with them, are become mere hypocrites and apostates; it had been better for you never to have known the truth, than, by such your dealings, so to have betrayed it."

Do you see these things, dearly beloved, and will you not eschew them? Will you give yourselves over to an unbridled course, the end whereof you know not? Shall men of such inconstancy lead you from the truth, and make you to embrace those things which you know to have been condemned with one

consent by all the ancient Fathers for heresies? If you will needs affect them still, because you have no stay of yourselves, yet let me, I beseech you, prevail thus much with you, that until at the least they agree amongst themselves, you will be content to give over any longer to follow them.

In so doing, I doubt not but you shall return to your old love of the truth, embrace with your former joys this your present reformation (which your neighbours adjoining would think themselves most happy to attain), and with all sobriety and contentment, willingly and obediently submit yourselves to obey these and the like exhortations, penned by the Holy Ghost, and tending to persuade you to persevere in that godly doctrine which you have received. "As you have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him." And again, "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by your assembling unto him, that you be not suddenly moved from your mind, nor troubled by spirit, that is, by deluding spirits and vain doctrine, but stand fast, and keep the instructions which you have been taught. Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report—if there be any virtue, or if there be any praise, think on these things, which you have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in your true prophets, who have, some of them, sealed the truth with their blood; those things, I say, forget not, but hold fast, remember, and put them in practice. And the God of peace shall be with you."

"Beware (saith the apostle) of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of concision, that is, of such as cut asunder the Church of God. If any man preach unto you any other Gospel than that which you have received, let him be accursed. Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines, for it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace." "That plant never proveth which oft is removed."

Suffer not yourselves, as it were bowls, to be easily turned hither and thither. "The square stone lieth surest." It is very unmeet you should henceforth be any more as children, wavering and carried about, like little boats, with every wind of doctrine, by the deceit of men, and with craftiness, whereby (as men that are well practised) they lie in wait to deceive; but follow the truth in love, and in all things grow up as true and lively members of that body, whereof Christ is the head; by whom, in so doing, you shall receive increase of all heavenly graces in this life, as of faith, sobriety, obedience, and constancy in the truth, and in the world to come, obtain, to your endless and everlasting com-

fort, that glorious and immortal crown which is purchased for the godly, by the blood of the Lamb, that sitteth upon the throne of all glory.

Of which crown, God, of his infinite mercy, grant us all to be partakers, through the merits and death of Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all praise, honour, and glory, both now and for ever more. AMEN.

NOTES.

I.

It is a strange way that men have of honouring God in these days. They appropriate their silver and their gold to purposes of luxury for themselves; they serve God with the refuse of their possessions; and hypocritically call that simplicity in a church which they would think to be sordid in a kitchen. It is miserable to contemplate the phraseology which is introduced to extenuate the degradation of our religious services, and reconcile them to the scarred consciences of this generation. Let any one go into our country churches, and look at what are still called our altars and our chancels, and if he will not blush at the sight of them, he must, as an honest man, blush at the vindications that are too often given of their present condition. Would it not seem inconceivable, if we did not know it for a fact, that men oftentimes proceed upon the supposition that they can delude not only their fellow men, but even Him whom they profess to be serving? And what instance of this folly can be pointed out more trite than that which we are now alluding to? Our far-back forefathers dedicated of the richest of their substance for the honour of their Maker and the glory of his worship; and as we gaze on the remains of the old massy churches, the veriest Puritan among us feels their magnificence, and is conscious of somewhat of a sacred majesty about them, even while his own envious and self-upbraiding heart attempts to stigmatize with superstition the high devotion of a ruder age, so far beyond his reach. Does it not speak ominously for us, that oftentimes we are almost unwilling to preserve from falling the venerable piles already reared for us with so much cost and pains? But is there not something even more revolting than this in the reflection that men venture even to defend this, their spiritual parsimony, on the plea that they may be "doing more good with their money," and Judas-like are selling the precious things for the poor which they ought to expend on Christ? Miserable sophistry!—self-delusion we cannot call it. He must be credulous indeed, who can think that any man can cheat himself into the belief that avarice is the promoter of religion—that a dismantled temple and a bare ritual are the essentials of Christianity—that holy things must needs be mean—that poverty is simplicity—that the less a man gives to the service of God, the more spiritual he is to be thought

—in a word, that mammon is the friend of Christ! “The man after God’s own heart” exclaimed with holy zeal, “I will not offer unto the Lord my God of that which cost me nothing.” Who, let it be asked, can read this, without feeling the royal nobleness of holy David’s sentiment? But, alas! we admire it, as we admire a picture, and walk away, and think it too beautiful for real life.—*MS. I.*)

The world thinketh it but a trifle to see their Church in ruin and decay. But whoso doth not lay to their helping hands, they sin against God and his holy congregation. For if it had not been sin to neglect, and pass little upon the re-edifying and building up again of his temple, God would not have been so much grieved, and so soon have plagued his people, because they builded and decked their own houses so gorgeously, and despised the house of God their Lord. It is sin and shame to see many churches so ruinous and so foully decayed, almost in every corner. If a man’s private house wherein he dwelleth, be decayed, he will never cease till it be restored up again. Yea, if his barn where he keepeth his corn be out of reparations, what diligence useth he to make it in perfect state again? If his stable for his horse, yea, his sty for his swine, be not able to hold out water and wind, how careful is he to do cost thereon? And shall we be so mindful of our common and base houses, deputed to so low occupying, and be forgetful toward the house of God, wherein be ministered the words of our eternal salvation, wherein be intreated the sacraments and mysteries of our redemption? The fountain of our regeneration is there presented unto us; the partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ is there offered unto us. And shall we not esteem the place where so heavenly things be handled? Wherefore, if ye have any reverence to the service of God, if ye have any common honesty, if ye have any conscience in keeping of necessary and godly ordinances, keep your churches in good repair, whereby ye shall not only please God, and deserve his manifold blessings, but also deserve the good report of all godly people.—*An Homily for repairing, and keepiny clean, and comely adorning of Churches.*—Homilies, Edit. 1587.

Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expenses this way are employed. “The mother of such magnificence (they think) is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far and wide. Suppose we that God himself delighteth to dwell sumptuously, or taketh pleasure in chargeable pomp? No; then was the Lord most acceptably served when his temples were rooms borrowed within the houses of poor men. This was suitable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of his Gospel.”

2. What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto ourselves, as we do not know, so we need not search. It cometh, we grant, many times to pass, that the works of men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the temple of God was ambitious, yet Solomon’s virtuous, Constantine’s holy. But howsoever their hearts are disposed by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof?

3. Touching God himself, hath he anywhere revealed that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? and that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorn his temple? This most suitable, decent, and fit for the greatness of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his Gospel, except we think of Christ and his Gospel as Julian did. As, therefore, the son of Sirach giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, "A man need not say, 'This is worse than that—this more acceptable to God, that less;' for in their season they are all worthy praise." The like we may also conclude as touching these two so contrary ways of providing in meaner or in costlier sort for the honour of Almighty God, "A man need not say, 'This is worse than that—this more acceptable to God, that less;' for with him they are in their season both allowable"—the one, when the state of the Church is poor, the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty.

When they which had seen the beauty of the first temple built by Solomon in the days of his great prosperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the second which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas, if the house of God were by so much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is less, they should have done better to rejoice than weep—their prophets better to reprove than comfort.

It being objected against the Church in the times of universal persecution, that her service done to God was not solemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of divine majesty, their most convenient answer was, that "the best temples which we can dedicate to God are our sanctified souls and bodies." Whereby it plainly appeareth how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themselves with the meditation of God's most gracious and merciful nature, who did not, therefore, the less accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in such their want of external ornaments, which when they wanted, the cause was their only lack of ability; ability serving, they wanted them not. Before the Emperor Constantine's time, under Severus, Gordian, Philip, Galienus, the state of Christian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings, which were but of mean and small estate, contented them not; spacious and ample churches they erected throughout every city. No envy was able to be their hinderance—no practice of Satan, or fraud of men, available against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their safety. These churches Dioclesian caused, by solemn edict, to be afterwards overthrown. Maximinus, with like authority, giving leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even rapt with divine joy to see those places which tyrannous impiety had laid waste, recovered, as is were out of mortal calamity, churches "reared up to an height immeasurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their restoration than their founders before had given

them." Whereby we see how most Christian minds stood then affected—we see how joyful they were to behold the sumptuous stateliness of houses built unto God's glory.

4. If we should, over and beside this, allege the care which was had that all things about the tabernacle of Moses might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich as art could make them, or what travail and cost was bestowed, that the goodliness of the temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world; this, they will say, was figurative, and served by God's appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true everlasting glory of a more divine sanctuary; whereunto Christ, being long thence, entered, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also ourselves would grant, if the use thereof had been merely and only mystical. But sith the prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which such kinds of bounteous expenses have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our cheerful affection which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture of his service, as also because it serveth to the world for a witness of his Almightyness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himself incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his own service? To set forth the majesty of kings, his vicerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath, are procured. We think belike he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain.—HOOKER'S *Eccl. Pol.* b. v. c. xv. *Edit. Keble.*

We build churches by calculation, as a matter of necessity; but of old, men knew that they were building, not for man, but for the glory of His name who had furnished for them this spacious earth in all its abundance, and who has gone to prepare for them mansions in heaven, and therefore none could endure that his work should yield in magnificence to that of another. And let us not say that these were ages of superstition; and that our churches are for use, not for ornament. For we, too, may well desire, with holy David, to worship God in the "beauty of holiness;" nor can we forget that he whom we worship, when of old he deigned to give the design of one house for the glory of his name, claimed for it gold and silver, precious stones and cedar, and whatever man could give of majesty and beauty; and that in imitation thereof, God's saints have ever delighted to accumulate whatever of his gifts is most noble, for the stability and ornament of his temples. So was it in the days of the Church's first love. Even while the sword of persecution hung over the heads of Christians, and when personal luxury was unknown, their churches were wide, and spacious, and rich; as we read of those which were cast down by the persecutor Dioclesian, and was more abundantly seen during the peaceful breathing-time afforded by Constantine. When shall modern England follow the example? When shall we wipe off the reproach too justly cast upon us by a distinguished member of the French Church? "The Catholic religion (says Chateaubriand) has covered the world with its monu-

ments. Protestantism has now lasted three centuries ; it is powerful in England, Germany, America. What has it raised ! It will show you the ruins which it has made ; amidst which it has planted some gardens and established some manufactories." What shall England answer to this taunt ?—*The Parochial System : an Appeal to English Churchmen.* By Henry Wilberforce, M.A., pp. 99, 100.

II.

The Church is the body of Christ, and in that respect, as in our bodies, so in his, not only the members have a common care for the whole, but the principal parts must direct and guide the rest ; namely, the eyes to see, the ears to hear, and the mouth to speak for the whole body. Such, therefore, as Christ hath placed to be the watchmen and leaders, the light and salt of his Church, must not only warn and guide, but also lighten and season in their measure the whole body ; for what commission they have from Christ, severed and single in their proper charges, the same they must needs retain, assembled and joined throughout their circuits. Yea, the Lord so much tendereth the fatherly care and brotherly concord of the pastors of his Church, that he hath promised to be "present in the midst" of their assemblies, and with his Spirit to direct them, so they come together, not to accomplish their own lusts and desires, but to sanctify his name, by detecting error, resisting wolves, maintaining truth, curing the sores and maladies that fester and poison the members of his body..... This course the apostles taught the Church of Christ to follow, by their example, when about the question that troubled the Church of Antioch, the apostles and elders came together to examine the matter, and to verify their Master's words to be true : not only the apostles, but the whole assembly, wrote thus in their letters :—"It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us." For it be sure what the apostle said, "the Holy Ghost made you overseers to feed the Church ;" and if our Saviour could not be deceived when he said, "He that heareth you heareth me," &c., this must be verified as well of pastors assembled as singled ; yea, pastors gathered together in Christ's name, are rather assured of his direction and assistance, than when they be severed, unless there be any that thinketh that God inspireth one particular person with righteousness, and forsaketh a number of priests assembled in synod, which the Council of Africa reputeth to be very absurd, and repugnant to Christ's promise, so long as they meet together in his name, and not to deface his truth or oppress their brethren. This hath in all ages, as well before as since the great Council of Nice, been approved and practised as the lawfullest and surest means to discern truth from falsehood, to *decide doubts and strifes*, and redress wrongs in causes ecclesiastical ; yea, when there was no believing magistrates to assist the Church, this was the only way to cleanse the house of God, as much as might be, from the loathsome vessels of dishonour ; and after Christian princes began to profess and protest the truth, they never had, nor can have, any better or surer direction amongst men, than by the synods of wise and

godly pastors.—*The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church.* By Bishop Bilson. 4to. edit. 1610, pp. 372-374.

Catholic should have four conditions, by Vincentius's rule..... There can nothing be Catholic, unless it be confirmed two ways: first, by the authority of God's law; and, next, by the tradition of the Catholic Church; not that the canon of Scripture is not perfect and sufficient enough for all points of faith, but because men draw and stretch the Scriptures to their fancies, therefore it is very needful that the line of prophetic and apostolical interpretation should be directed by the rule of the ecclesiastical and Catholic sense. Now in the Catholic Church herself we must take heed we hold that which hath been believed at all times, in all places, of all persons, for that is truly and properly Catholic.—*The true Difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion.* By Bishop Bilson. Part iv., pp. 546-547. Edit. 1585.

Now from these two sorts of persons proceeded those two several means, whereby (as it were in two moulds) all imaginations have been cast, and the truth of God's word ever perverted. 1. From the Pharisee—that piecing out the new garment with old rags of traditions (Matt. ix. 17)—that adding to and cking out God's truth with men's fancies, with the phylacteries and fringes of the Pharisees, who took upon them to observe many things beside it (Mark vii. 4). 2. From the philosopher that wresting and tentering of the Scriptures (which St. Peter complaineth of, 2 Pet. iii. 16), with expositions and glosses newly coined, to make them speak that they never meant. Giving such *new* and *strange* senses to places of Scripture, as the Church of Christ never heard of. And what words are there or can there be that (being helped out with the Pharisee's addition of a *truth unwritten*, or tuned with the philosopher's wrest of a *devised sense*) that may not be made to give colour to a new imagination? Therefore the ancient Fathers thought it meet that they would take upon them to interpret the apostle's doctrine, should put in sureties, that their senses they gave were no other than the Church, in former times, hath acknowledged. It is true, the apostles indeed spake from the Spirit, and every affection of theirs was an oracle; but that (I take it) was their peculiar privilege. But all that are after them speak not by revelation, but by "labouring in the word" and learning, are not to utter their own fancies, and to desire to be believed upon their bare word (if this be not *dominari fidei*, to be lords of their auditors' faith, I know not what it is); but only on condition that the sense they now give be not a feigned sense (as St. Peter termeth it), but such a one as hath been before given by our Fathers and forerunners in the Christian faith. "Say I this of myself (saith the apostle); saith not the law" so too? Give I this sense of mine own head; hath not Christ's Church heretofore given the like? Which one course, if it were straightly holden, would rid our Church of many fond imaginations which now are stamped daily, because every man, upon his own single bond, is trusted to deliver the meaning of any Scripture, which is many times nought else but his own imagination. This is the disease of our age. Not the Pharisee's *addition* (which is

well left) ; but (as bad as it) the philosopher's *gloss*, which too much aboundeth. And I see no way but this to help it.—*Sermon on Acts ii. v. 42.* By Bishop Andrews. Sermons. Fol., London, 1631.

Touching the Church, as it comprehendeth only the believers that now are, and presently live in the world, it is most certain and agreed upon, that in things necessary to be known and believed expressly and distinctly, it never is ignorant, much less doth err. Yea, in things that are not absolutely necessary to be known and believed, expressly and distinctly, we constantly believe that this Church can never err, nor doubt pertinaciously but there be some found ready to embrace the truth, if it be manifested unto them, and such as shall not wholly neglect the search and enquiry after it, as times and means give leave. As, therefore, we hold it impossible the Church should ever, by apostasy and mischief, wholly depart from God, so we hold it never falleth into any heresy ; so that he is as much to be blamed for idle and needless busying himself in proving that the visible Church never falleth into heresy which we most readily grant.—*Dean Field, of the Church.* Book iv., c. 2. Edit. 1635.

Touching the interpretations [of holy Scripture] which the Fathers have delivered, we receive them as undoubtedly true in the general doctrine they consent in ; and so far forth esteem them as authentical.—*Ibid.* Book iv., c. 16.

Bishop Andrews, after enumerating the General Councils, adds, “In all which the force of truth presenteth itself so clearly, that Bellarmine is ever dazzled with it.”—*Sermons.*

R.

APPENDIX I.

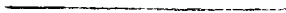
It is apparent that the alliance of the Church with the State would naturally, and indeed inevitably affect, in a measure, the duties of both. How far this is the case in any particular commonwealth, is a question so purely circumstantial, that it is impossible to give a general solution of it. It was certainly the temptation of the English Church, at the Reformation and immediately after it, to rely too largely on the civil power. Their terror and their weakness, in the hour of escape from Roman tyranny, obliged the English Reformers to a course, which, to say the least, was practically Erastian; and, the course once adopted, the temptation next arose of defending on principle what they had adopted from necessity. English Churchmen, at the present day, will do well to be on their guard, lest, in imitating their early Reformers, they should imitate them in their misfortunes. It is unquestionable that the course adopted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was one respecting which there was no option; nor did it in itself involve any principles not defensible on the strictest Church grounds. Nevertheless, the line of defence they sometimes selected is by no means to be always trusted; and, fortunately, the unsound arguments of different writers are sufficiently indicated by mutual inconsistencies. It is no condemnation of the Reformed Church of that time to dispute the defences set up by some of its friends, more especially if it should appear that they are at variance with the more authoritative declarations of the Church herself, at the same period. The position occupied by the Church of England, in its first controversy with the Bishop of Rome, must, from the circumstances of the time, have seemed to be Erastian; but let it be carefully observed, that so, in like manner, must the position of any Church seem, which is connected in any way with the civil Government—that is to say, in proportion as any Church is taken under the protection, or into the alliance, of the State, in any country, it will be natural for observers at a distance, and easy for an opponent in controversy, to represent the Church as a creature of the State—under State influence. And this brings us back to what we set out by affirming, namely, that the question at issue is a question of degree. That the duties of a Church and a State which are allied will mutually be affected,

is certain ; in what degree this will be the case will depend upon circumstances. In our own nation the Church, notwithstanding the language held at times by some of her defenders, has clearly maintained in her Thirty-seventh Article, that "we only attribute to the King's majesty that prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes, in holy Scriptures, by God himself, that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword, the stubborn and evil doers." Now the point of dispute particularly singled out by Bancroft in the text is one of principle. The Papists and Puritans had both maintained that a Christian monarch stood on no different footing from an heathen ruler, and, consequently, that neither his duties, as ruler, could at any time interfere with the Church, nor the Church's duty clash with his. Such a position, however, was evidently untrue, in fact, in addition to involving, in theory, the objection of an *imperium in imperio*. For, not to insist on historical examples, it was untrue, in fact, because a Christian monarch could never divest himself of his duties as a member of the Church of Christ ; nor could it be the duty of the Church ever to forget that the king, if a Christian, is but one of her children. And is it at this point that the theory of the English "alliance of Church and State" distinguishes us from the Papists and sectarians, and also avoids the objection of an *imperium in imperio*. The very idea of an alliance of the two involves mutual duties ; and it is a complete *petitio principii* to say, at the outset, that mutual duties between two such estates are not possible. But then, of course, there must, in every commonwealth, be a supremacy somewhere. If there be two powers in any community, one must be superior to the other, or order and government would soon become impossible. The Papist meets this by making the Pope superior to the Crown ; the Puritan obviates the difficulty by making the Church independent of the Crown, and taking the chance of a rebellion. The Church of England avoids the foreign tyranny and the domestic anarchy by the theory of a strict alliance, offensive and defensive. According to the terms of such an alliance, a supremacy, in things purely spiritual, is assigned to the Church alone ; a supremacy, purely civil, to the State alone ; and in mixed matters, the supremacy is consigned to a mixed tribunal. The true freedom of the Church and of the State, in this country, can only consist with a strict adherence to these distinctions. It is by no means necessary to maintain that these distinctions have always been unerringly preserved.

It is enough, in vindication of our theory, to show that the Church has never, directly or indirectly, surrendered her own spiritual supremacy, any more than the State has looked to the Church as the fountain of its civil power. They who would argue that because kings have at times administered matters ecclesiastical, therefore our Church is Erastian, might as justly argue, that, because our archbishops have been prime ministers, therefore our State is a mere hierarchy ! Doubtless the respective duties of the regale and the pontificate have, at times, been unhappily confounded and mistaken ; but our Church has always adhered to her spiritual principles, prerogatives, and powers. Nor has she been so violently interfered with by the State, after all, as have the Churches of France and of Spain, albeit in communion with Rome.

I.

OXFORD,

The Feast of St. Barnabas.

THE GREAT PERIL OF POPERY ;
ESPECIALLY IN THE MATTER OF THE BLESSED EUCHARIST.
BY THE MOST REV. WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE SUCCESSION,
AND SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY OF THE EPISCOPATE.

AUTHORIZED BY CHARLES I. KING OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE we proceed to illustrate the fourth formal revision of our Church offices, we must pause to mark their progress through the intermediate ordeal—"the fiery trial that was to try them," which may, indeed, itself be reckoned, not unfitly, as the most searching of all corrections and cleansings—a revision of blood. To this object the present Part of these Tracts is devoted.

Between the times of the Hampton Court and the Savoy Conferences, we see our Church "cast down, but not destroyed." Her enemies, truly, "rejoiced over her," not knowing that though she fell she "should rise again;" but it is for us to trace how surely when she was "sitting in darkness," the Lord* was still a light unto her.

It was the will of Providence that the head of the Church of England and the head of the State (under God) should each lay down his life for the truth. The Marian martyrs died to assert the Protestantism of our Church; Laud and Charles perished rather than surrender her true Catholicism. The prelate and the monarch—the priest and the layman, stood united by brotherhood in suffering; and the "alliance" which was sought for in times of prosperity, was not disowned in adversity.

In taking passages, as we here do, from the extant remains of the archbishop and the king, we suppose that we shall be beyond the reach of any charge of "selecting." The great body of the clergy of that time formed, indeed, a noble band of confessors; but these two were then the devoted *martyrs* of the Church. Nor is there reason to suspect us of "selecting" (in an invidious sense) from the works of Laud and Charles; for they are "of one mind," and breathe one spirit throughout. We have been only anxious to take such passages as were complete in themselves, and had reference to the controverted topics of our time. We do not anticipate, indeed, any dissatisfaction with our present Tracts on the score of fairness; the "times of Laud" are rather given up by the moderns in general as thoroughly "dark." Whatever controversy there might be about the spirit of the English Church up to this period, it seems generally allowed to have developed itself distinctly enough, by Laud's primacy. No one would write to prove that the Church *then* was one in doctrine with the Puritans. The history is, that the Church

* Micah vii. 8.

was overthrown utterly, because her principles were incurably anti-puritan throughout. The energy and boldness of the archbishop began to animate the whole clergy, who looked to him as an instrument divinely appointed to "repair the waste places" of the city of God. The catholic feeling of the Church, when suffered to manifest itself, became every day more and more apparent. And this it is to which we must ever appeal in such controversies as the present. It is not that Laud was a chief father of the Church, and Charles the highest of her sons : this would not make them "authorities ;" for other archbishops and other kings have had far different sentiments. But the fact that they confessedly carried with them the sympathies of the whole Church, gives to their words a more than private value, nay, makes us even look on their single names as no inadequate representatives of the then living Church among us ; and surely their very fate of martyrdom seems to stand out as a symbol of what their enemies would have done to the whole ecclesiastical body, nay, did to the utmost of their brief power. We are not asking attention here to a bishop and a king, but to the Church, speaking through the voice of her martyrs.

One circumstance should not be omitted, as giving additional weight, perhaps, with some, to the Tracts here set forth, viz., that the work, of which the former is an extract, was originally undertaken by Laud, at the suggestion of the king ;* and that the royal martyr was assisted in the work from which we take the latter Tract, by Bishops Usher and Sanderson, Sheldon and Duppa. And having named this, we pass on to a brief digression on a topic incidentally touched on in the Tract of King Charles, concerning which very grave charges have at times been brought against us, viz., the relative jurisdiction of the Church and the State.

The known sentiments of Laud and the king are in themselves sufficient to exempt them, we should suppose, from any serious accusation of Erastianism : no such charge can be really made to consist with their avowed and unyielding support of the divine doctrines of the succession and the sacraments. And yet their language at times † is certainly such as might almost be called Erastian, if we did not recollect who used it, and under what circumstances. With such a monarch as Charles, a much less confiding prelate than Laud might have been tempted into concessions. But if (which is the worst that can be supposed) we were to convict both the archbishop and the king of inconsistency in this point, it would but furnish another instance of what we have so often insisted on, viz., that the greatest of our

* James I.

† See Laud's Sermons, and Tract x. p. 26, &c.

authorities are not to be followed as individuals, and that the true Churchman will honour the wise of past ages, not for any peculiar sentiments in which they varied from others, but only so far as they spoke "the same thing" with the great body of the faithful, their universal brethren in Christ. Nor is this "unity of the Spirit" difficult to discern in fact, however difficult to describe in theory. True, there is nothing so hard to grapple with, or fix in controversy, as the spirit of a writer; but yet nothing is, at the same time, more real and more influential. And we may say of our present Tracts what we may say of the Laudian era at large, that whatever portion thereof may be debated about, no candid controversialist will deny for a moment the catholic tone and spirit of the whole, on all the leading subjects of debate connected with the ministry and sacraments of the Church.

The circumstances of our times, however, seem to make it more and more likely that the subject of episcopal jurisdiction, glanced at in page 219, will be brought into controversy; and nothing can be more important, at present, than to clear our thoughts respecting it. It seems very evident that our present ecclesiastical position, anomalous as it is, is likely, before long, to become more so; and it surely behoves us to understand on what principle the episcopal jurisdiction of our Church is to be modified, restrained, suppressed, or extended, by a power external, and not necessarily even friendly to us. How much are we prepared to submit to before we speak? And the principles on which our forefathers in the faith professed to act, though not a rule, may still be some to help us. Our circumstances, indeed, are very different from theirs; our position much more complicated, if not quite unintelligible. Let this make us (in time) look with more care to our principles than has been our fashion of late.

The Church would naturally be inclined to concede to a religious monarch like Charles, with an archbishop for his Prime Minister, the very utmost that could be surrendered of ecclesiastical supremacy, without directly trenching on a spiritual function. While, even by a legal fiction only, the Church and the State were assumed to be identical, the mutual confidence existing among the higher authorities of each would be a sufficient guarantee against infringement of essential rights; and much might be allowed, for convenience and simplicity of government, which would never have been formally recognized on principle. But it would be madness, in less happy circumstances of the body politic, to allow the assumptions of other times to be used as precedents for ours.

It is of no use fancying that our rulers are Churchmen, when

we know that, as a body, they no longer are so ; and yet it is plain that in ecclesiastical matters a power is to be exercised over us (and no one gainsays it), which would barely have been allowed as lawful in the days of an exclusively Church legislature. That the present course of events can continue unchecked, and yet a most serious crisis avoided, is impossible. The spiritual supremacy of the episcopate—the right of the Church to govern herself internally—are questions which must soon be brought to an issue. Nothing can postpone it long. Let us, as Churchmen, occupy the present moment in understanding our duties, that, when called on to act, we may not act at random.

In the primitive Church there was a “godly discipline” (as our Prayer-book in one place reminds us), and the administrators of that discipline, after the apostles, were the bishops. If the ends to be attained by that Christian discipline can be attained at any time by the bishops voluntarily placing in abeyance the exercise of certain of their powers, we will not deny that they may do it. At times, under exclusively Christian governments, holy men have so thought and so acted. But they have not relinquished their power, received as it has been from a heavenly Master, and not possibly to be surrendered to an earthly one. The end—the edification of the whole body of Christ—is that which is to be kept in view. It is a novel discovery of the present age, that “Church discipline” means no more than “keeping priests of the Church in order,” as a sort of religious police for the State. No ; “we (bishops, priests, deacons, and people), being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.” And let us, in thinking over this most critical subject, never forget that what latitudinarians call “a mere matter of discipline,” may, in some of its not very remote consequences, involve those sacramental and doctrinal questions on which the very existence, no less than the integrity, of a Church must depend.

For ourselves,* indeed, we are free to confess, that our notions respecting the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church are somewhat higher than those maintained in the Tract No. X. ; but looking at King Charles’s sentiments on this head as the lowest which even a layman could, in the most disastrous times, think admissible for Churchmen, we should rejoice to think that they were now entertained by our present laity in these days of as determined and only more refined persecution.

OXFORD,

I.

Day of King Charles’s Martyrdom, 1840.

* See Appendix to Tract VIII.

THE GREAT PERIL OF POPERY; ESPECIALLY IN THE MATTER OF THE BLESSED EUCHARIST,

BY THE MOST REV. W. LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The severest trial which the Church of England has at any time, probably, sustained, happened in the primacy of the venerable Laud. This period witnessed the resolute attempt of long baffled factions to obtain, by force, those concessions (of discipline and doctrine) which the Church had, thus far, refused to grant. The Conference from which this Tract is taken was held at the Royal command; and it was published by the Archbishop's authority, A.D. 1639. It thus bears witness what was the unchanged doctrine of the Church, up to the time when her enemies, despairing of bending her to their purposes, began what they meant to be a war of extermination.

OXFORD—*Feast of St. Matthew.*

I.

(*Taken from "Laud's Conference"*).

A. C.—*The Jesuit.* B.—*The Archbishop.*

[INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—*As in the course of this Tract frequent allusion is made to the Donatists (who had been brought into the discussion by the Archbishop, as using the very argument in a confessedly heretical cause which the Romanists now used in their own), it may be well to premise a few lines concerning that ancient sect.*

The Donatists were, at first, only schismatics, but did not long remain merely such; they quickly became heretics also. Donatus, their leader, was disappointed at the election of Cæcilian to the bishopric of Carthage, and raised against him some heavy accusations, in order to procure, if possible, his deposition. Failing in making good his charges, he instantly seceded from

the Church, and drew with him a large and powerful party, which in time divided Africa. They began, in a like spirit to that of the Novatians, by asserting a higher degree of purity for themselves than for the Church. They maintained that the Church could have no evil members in it. From this they were led to a denial of the validity of baptism in any impure communion—by which they meant, “any except their own.” Even heretics, in those days, took it for granted, that baptism, if real and valid, conferred grace; hence they had no option but to deny the baptism of all but themselves. The modern notion of a “spiritual Church” is purely Donatistic; only by adding the further heresy of a denial of baptismal grace, the moderns alluded to go further into error than the Donatists did on this point. Some, indeed, of those unhappy sectarians of old, “*ut mos est schismaticorum*,” “waxed worse and worse,” and soon added to their errors those of the Semi-Arians and Macedonians, *i. e.*, denied the equal Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. At one time, so successful had the Donatists become, that they well nigh outnumbered the Catholic Church of Africa, and, by their superior power and unrelenting spirit, were enabled to carry on a persecution against their orthodox brethren, the fierceness of which has been likened to what Christians suffered from pagan Rome. The illustrious St. Augustine was a main instrument, in the hand of God, of destroying this heretical sect.

The Donatist schism continued for a hundred years; from the attempted deposition of Cæcilian, A.D. 312, to the great Council of Carthage, in A.D. 412. I.]

THE possibility [of being saved in the Roman faith], I think, cannot be denied, the ignorants especially; because they hold the foundation, and cannot survey the building, and the foundation can deceive no man that rests upon it; but a secure way they cannot go, that hold with such corruptions when they know them. Now, whether it be wisdom, in such a point as salvation is, to forsake a Church in which the ground of salvation is firm, to follow a Church in which it is but possible one may be saved (but very probable he may do worse, if he look not well to the foundation), judge ye. I am sure St. Augustine* thought it was not, and judged it a great sin, in point of salvation, for a man to prefer “*incerta certes*,” uncertainties and naked possibilities, before an evident and certain course. And Bellarmine† is of opinion, and that in the point of justification,

* Cont. Don. lib. i. c. 3.

† De Justif. lib. v. c. 7.

“that in regard of the uncertainty of our own righteousness, and of the danger of vain-glory, ‘tutissimum est,’ it is safest to repose our whole trust in the mercy and goodness of God.” And surely, if there be one safer way than another, as he confesses there is, he is no wise man that, in a matter of so great moment, will not betake himself to the safest way. And therefore, even you yourselves, in the point of condignity of merit, though you write it and preach it boisterously to the people, yet you are content to die, renouncing the condignity of all your own merits, and trust to Christ’s. Now, surely, if you will not venture to die as you live, live and believe in time as you mean to die.

II. And one thing more (because you bid mark this), let me remember to tell you for the benefit of others. Upon this very point, “that we acknowledge an honest ignorant Papist may be saved,” you and your like work upon the advantage of our charity, and your own want of it, to abuse the weak. For thus I am told you work upon them—“You see the Protestants (at least, many of them) confess there may be salvation in our Church: we absolutely deny there is salvation in theirs; therefore it is safer to come to ours than to stay in theirs—to be where almost all grant salvation, than where the greater part of the world deny it.” This argument is very prevailing with men that cannot weigh it, and with women, especially, that are put in fear by violent (though causeless) denying heaven unto them. And some of your party, since this, have set out a book called “Charity Mistaken;” but, beside the answer fully given to it, this alone is sufficient to confute it. First, that in this our charity (whatever yours be) is not mistaken, unless the charity of the Church herself were mistaken in the case of the Donatists, as shall after appear. Secondly, even mistaken charity (if such it were) is far better than none at all. And if the mistaken be ours, the none is yours. Yea, but A. C. [the Jesuit] tells us, “That this denial of salvation is grounded upon charity, as were the like threats of Christ and the holy Fathers. For there is but one true faith, and one true Church, and out of that there is no salvation; and he that will not hear the Church, let him be as a heathen and a publican: therefore, he says, it is more charity to forewarn us of the danger by these threats, than to let us run into it through a false security.” It is true that there is but one true faith, and but one true Church; but that one, both faith and Church, is the Catholic Christian, not the particular Roman. And this Catholic Christian Church, he that will not both hear and obey, yea, and the particular Church in which he lives too (so far as it, in necessities, agrees

with the universal), is in as bad condition "as a heathen and a publican," and perhaps, in some respects, worse; and were we in this case, we should thank A. C. [the Jesuit] for giving us warning of our danger. But it is not so; for he thunders out all these threats and denial of salvation, because we join not with the Roman Church in all things, as if her corruptions were part of the Catholic faith of Christ. So the whole passage is a mere begging of the question, and then threatening upon it, without all ground of reason or charity. In the meantime let A. C. [the Jesuit] look to himself, that in his false security he run not into the danger and loss of his own salvation, while he would seem to take such care of ours. But though this argument prevails with the weak, yet it is much stronger in the cunning than the true force of it; for all his arguments are very moving that lay their ground upon the adversaries' confession, especially if it be confessed and avouched to be true. But if you would speak truly, and say, many Protestants indeed confess there is salvation possible to be attained in the Roman Church; but they say, withal, that the errors of that Church are so many (and some so great as to weaken the foundation) that it is very hard to go that way to heaven, especially to them that have had the truth manifested; the heart of this argument were utterly broken. Besides, the force of this argument lies upon two things, one directly expressed, the other but as upon the by.

III. That which is expressed is, we and our adversaries consent that there is salvation to some in the Roman Church. What! would you have us as malicious (as least as rash) as yourselves are to us, and deny you so much as possibility of salvation? If we should, we might make you in some things strain for a proof. But we have not so learned Christ, as either to return evil for evil in this heady course, or to deny salvation to some ignorant silly souls, whose humble, peaceable obedience makes them safe among any part of men that profess the foundation, Christ; and, therefore, seek not to help our cause by denying this comfort to silly Christians, as you most fiercely do where you can come to work upon them. And this was an old trick of the Donatists; for in the point of baptism (whether that sacrament was true in the Catholic Church, or in the part of Donatus), they exhorted all to be baptized among them. Why? Because both parts granted that baptism was true among the Donatists, which that peevish sect most unjustly denied the sound part, as St. Augustine delivers it.* I would ask now—

* *Contra Donat. lib. i. c. 3.*

had not the orthodox true baptism among them, because the Donatists denied it injuriously? Or should the orthodox against truth have denied baptism among the Donatists, either to cry quittance with them, or that their argument might not be the stronger because both parts granted? But mark this, how far you run from all common principles of Christian peace, as well as Christian truth, while you deny salvation most unjustly to us, from which you are farther off yourselves. Besides, if this were or could be made a concluding argument, I pray, why do not you believe with us in the point of the eucharist? For all sides agree in the faith of the Church of England, that, in the most blessed sacrament, the worthy receiver is, by his faith, made spiritually partaker of the true and real body and blood of Christ, truly and really, and of all the benefits of his passion. Your Roman Catholics add a manner of this his presence, transubstantiation, which many deny; and the Lutherans a manner of this presence, consubstantiation, which more deny. If the argument be good, then, even for this consent, it is safer communicating with the Church of England than with the Roman or Lutheran, because all agree in this truth, not in any other opinion. Nay, Suarez himself, and he a very learned adversary (what say you to this A. C. [the Jesuit]?—doth truth force this from him?), confesses plainly, “that to believe transubstantiation is not simply necessary to salvation;” and yet he knew well the Church had determined it. And Bellarmine, after an intricate, tedious, and almost inexplicable discourse about an “adductive conversion” (a thing which neither divinity nor philosophy ever heard of till then), is, at last, forced to come to this: “Whatsoever is concerning the manner and forms of speech, ‘*illud tenendum est*,’ is to be held, that the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is substantial, but after a secret and ineffable manner, and not like, in all things, to any natural conversion whatsoever.” Now if he had left out “conversion,” and affirmed only Christ’s real presence there, after a mysterious and indeed “ineffable manner,” no man could have spoke better. And, therefore, if you will force the argument always to make that the safest way of salvation which differing parties agree on, why do you not yield to the force of the same argument, in the belief of the sacrament, one of the most immediate means of salvation, where not only the most, but all agree, and your own greatest clerks cannot tell what to say to the contrary?

IV I speak here for the force of the argument, which certainly in itself is nothing, though by A. C. [the Jesuit] made of great account; for he says, “It is a confession of adversaries ex-

torted by truth ;" just as Petilian, the Donatist, bragged in the case of baptism. But, in truth, it is nothing ; for the syllogism which it frames is this : the Papists and the Protestants, which are the parties differing, agree in this—that there is salvation possible to be found in the Roman Church. But, in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the differing parties agree on. Therefore it is safest for a man to be and continue in the Roman Church. To the major proposition, then, I observe, first, that though many learned Protestants grant this, all do not. And then that proposition is not universal, nor able to sustain the conclusion ; for they do not in this all agree—nay, I doubt not, but there are some Protestants which can and do as stiffly and as churlishly deny them salvation as they do us ; and A. C. [the Jesuit] should do well to consider, whether they do it not upon as good reason at least. Next for the minor proposition, namely, that, in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the adversary confesses, or the different parties agree on. I say that it is no metaphysical principle, but a bare contingent proposition, and being indefinitely taken, may be true or false, as the matter is to which it is applied ; and so of no necessary truth in itself, nor able to lead in the conclusion. Now, that this proposition, in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the different parties agree on, or which the adversary confesses, hath no strength in itself, but is sometimes true, and sometimes false, as the matter is about which it is conversant, is most evident. First, by reason ; because consent of disagreeing parties is neither rule, nor proof of truth ; for Herod and Pilate, disagreeing parties enough, yet agreed against truth itself ; but truth rather is, or should be, the rule to frame, if not to force, agreement. And, secondly, by the two instances before given : for in the instance between the orthodox Church then, and the Donatists, this proposition is most false ; for it was a point of faith, and so of salvation, that they were upon, namely, the right use and administration of the sacrament of baptism. And yet, had it been safest to take up that way which the differing parts agreed on, or which the adverse part confessed, men must needs have gone with the Donatists against the Church. And this must fall out as oft as any heretic will cunningly take that way against the Church which the Donatists did, if this principle shall go for current. But in the second instance, concerning the eucharist, a matter of faith, and so of salvation too, the same proposition is most true : and the reason is, because here the matter is true ; namely, the true and real participation of the body and blood of Christ in that blessed sacrament. But in the

former the matter was false; namely, that rebaptization was necessary for baptism formerly given by the Church. So this proposition—in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the differing parties agree in, or which the adversary confesses—is, you see, both true and false, as men have cunning to apply to it, and as the matter is about which it is conversant; and is, therefore, no proposition able or fit to settle a conclusion in any sober man's mind, till the matter contained under it be well scanned and examined.

And yet as much use as you would make of this proposition to amaze the weak, yourselves dare not stand to it; no, not where the matter is undeniably true, as shall appear in divers particulars besides this of the eucharist.

V But, before I add any other particular instances, I must tell you what A. C. [the Jesuit] says to the two former; for he tells us, "These two are nothing like the present case." Nothing! That is strange indeed. Why, in the first of those cases concerning the Donatists, your proposition is false: and so far from being the safest, that it was no safe way for a man to take that way of belief, and so of salvation, which both parts agreed on. And is this nothing? Nay, is not this full and home to the present case? For the present case is this, and no more, that it is safest taking that way of belief which the differing parties agree on, or which the adversary confesses. And in the second of those cases concerning the eucharist, your proposition indeed is true; not by the truth which it hath in itself metaphysically and in abstract, but only in regard of the matter to which it is applied; yet there you desert your own proposition where it is true. And is this nothing? Nay, is not this also full and home to the present case, since it appears your proposition is such as yourselves dare not bide by, either when it is true or when it is false? For in the case of baptism administered by the Donatist, the proposition is false, and yet you dare not bide by it for truth's sake. And in the case of the eucharist the proposition is true, and yet you dare not bide by it for the Church of Rome's sake! So that Church (with you) cannot err, and yet will not suffer you to maintain truth; which not to do is some degree of error, and that no small one.

VI. Well, A. C. [the Jesuit] goes on, and gives his reason why these two instances are nothing like the present case. "For in these cases (saith he) there are annexed other reasons of certainly known peril of damnable schism and heresy, which we should incur by consenting to the Donatists' denial of true baptism among Catholics, and to the Protestants' denial or doubting of the true substantial presence of Christ in the eucharist; but in this case of resolving to live and die in the

Catholic Roman Church, there is confessedly no such peril of any damnable heresy or schism, or any other sin." Here I have many particulars to observe upon A. C. [the Jesuit], and you shall have them as briefly as I can set them down. And, first, I take A. C. [the Jesuit] at his word, that in the case of the Donatists, should it be followed, there would be known peril of damnable schism and heresy, by denying true baptism to be in the orthodox Church. For by this you may see what a sound proposition this is, that, where two parties are dissenting, it is safest believing that in which both parties agree, or which the adversary confesses; for here you may see by the case of the Donatist is confessed—it may lead a man that will universally lean to it into known and damnable schism and heresy. An excellent guide, I promise you, this—is it not?

Nor, secondly, are these, though A. C. [the Jesuit] calls them so, annexed reasons; for he calls them so but to blanch the matter, as if they fell upon the proposition *ab extra*, accidentally, and from without; whereas they are not annexed or pinned on, but flow naturally out of the proposition itself. For the proposition would seem to be metaphysical, and is applicable indifferently to any common belief of dissenting parties, be the point in difference what it will. Therefore, if there be anything heretical, schismatical, or any way evil in the point, this proposition, being neither universally nor necessarily true, must needs cast him that relies upon it upon all these rocks of heresy, schism, or whatever else follows the matter of the proposition.

Thirdly, A. C. [the Jesuit] doth extremely ill to join these cases of the Donatists for baptism and the Protestants for the eucharist together, as he doth. For this proposition, in the first, concerning the Donatists, leads a man (as is confessed by himself) into known and damnable schism and heresy; but by A. C.'s [the Jesuit's] good leave, the latter, concerning the Protestants and the eucharist, nothing so. For I hope A. C. [the Jesuit] dare not say, that to believe the true, substantial presence of Christ is either known or damnable schism or heresy. Now as many and as learned Protestants maintain and believe this, as do believe possibility of salvation (as before is limited) in the Roman Church, therefore they, in that, [are] not guilty of either known or damnable schism or heresy, though the Donatists were of both.

Fourthly, whereas he imposes upon the Protestants "the denial or doubting of the true and real presence of Christ in the eucharist," he is a great deal more bold than true in that also; for understaid them right, and they certainly neither deny nor doubt it. For as for the Lutherans, as they are commonly called, their very opinion of consubstantiation makes it

known to the world, that they neither deny nor doubt of his true and real presence there ; and they are Protestants. And for the Calvinists, if they might be rightly understood, they also maintain a most true and real presence, though they cannot permit their judgments to be transubstantiated ; and they are Protestants too. And this is so known a truth that Bellarmine confesses it, for he saith—" Protestants do often grant that the true and real body of Christ is in the eucharist." But he adds—" That they never say (so far as he hath read) that it is there 'truly and really,' unless they speak of the supper which shall be in heaven." Well, first, if they grant that the true and real body of Christ is in that blessed sacrament (as Bellarmine confesses they do, and it is most true), then A. C. [the Jesuit] is false, who charges all the Protestants with denial or doubtfulness in this point. And, secondly, Bellarmine himself also shows here his ignorance or his malice : ignorance, if he knew it not ; malice, if he would not know it. For the Calvinists (at least, they which follow Calvin himself) do not only believe that the true and real body of Christ is received in the eucharist, but that there is, and that we partake of it, "*verè et realiter*," which are Calvin's own words ;* and yet Bellarmine boldly affirms that, to his reading, "no one Protestant did ever affirm it." And I, for my part, cannot believe but Bellarmine had read Calvin, and very carefully ; he doth so frequently and so mainly oppose him. Nor can that place by any art be shifted, or by any violence wrested, from Calvin's true meaning of the presence of Christ in and at the blessed sacrament of the eucharist, to any supper in heaven whatsoever. But most manifest it is, that "*quod legerim*" (for aught I have read) will never serve Bellarmine to excuse him ; for he himself, but in the very chapter going before, quotes four places out of Calvin, in which he says expressly, that we receive in the sacrament the body and blood of Christ, "*verè*," truly. So Calvin says it in four places, and Bellarmine quotes the places ; and yet he says in the very next chapter, that "never any Protestant said so, to his reading !" And, for the Church of England,† nothing is more plain than that it believes and teaches the true and real presence of Christ in the eucharist, unless A. C. [the Jesuit] can make a body no body, and blood no blood (as perhaps he can by transubstantiation), as well as bread no bread, and wine no wine ; and the Church of England is Protestant too.

* In 1 Cor. x. 3.

† See the Prayer of Consecration, and the Thanksgiving after Consecration. Also the Catechism, in re ; and the 28th Art.

So Protestants of all sorts maintain a true and real presence of Christ in the eucharist; and then, where is any known or damnable heresy here? As for the learned of those zealous men that died in this cause in Queen's Mary's days, they denied not the real presence simply taken, but as their opposites forced transubstantiation upon them, as if that and the real presence had been all one. Whereas, all the ancient Christians ever believed the one, and none but modern and superstitious Christians believe the other; if they do believe it, for I, for my part, doubt they do not. And as for the unlearned in those times, and all times, their zeal (they holding the foundation) may eat out their ignorances, and leave them safe. Now, that the learned Protestants in Queen Mary's days did not deny, nay, did maintain the "real presence," will manifestly appear. For when the commissioners obtruded to Jo. Frith the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament, and that without all figure or similitude, Jo. Frith* acknowledges, "that the inward man doth as verily receive Christ's body, as the outward man receives the sacrament with his mouth." And he adds, "that neither side ought to make it a necessary article of faith, but leave it indifferent."

Nay, Archbishop Cranmer† comes more plainly and more home to it than Frith. "For if you understand (saith he), by this word really, 'reipsâ;' that is, in very deed and effectually; so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present, &c. But if by this word 'really' you understand 'corporaliter,' corporally, in his natural and organical body, under the forms of bread and wine, it is contrary to the holy word of God." And so likewise Bishop Ridley.‡ Nay, Bishop Ridley adds yet further, and speaks so fully to this point, as I think no man can add to his expression: and it is well if some Protestants except not against it. "Both you and I (saith he) agree in this, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sits on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead: only we differ 'in modo,' in the way and manner of being. We confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament by spirit and grace, &c. You make a grosser kind of being, inclosing

* Fox's Martyrol. vol. ii. p. 943. Ed. 1597

† Fox's Martyrol. vol. ii. p. 1301. See also *Tracts of the Anglican Fathers*, No. 3.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 1598.

a natural body under the shape and form of bread and wine." So far, and more, Bishop Ridley. And Archbishop Cranmer confesses* that he was indeed of another opinion, and inclining to that of Zuinglius, till Bishop Ridley convinced his judgment and settled him in this point. And for Calvin, he comes no whit short of these, against the calumny of the Romanists on that behalf. Now, after all this, with what face can A. C. [the Jesuit] say (as he doth), that Protestants deny or doubt of the true or real presence of Christ in the [B.] sacrament? I cannot well tell, or am unwilling to utter.

Fifthly, whereas it is added by A. C. [the Jesuit], "that in this present case there is no peril of any damnable heresy, or schism, or any other sin, in resolving to live and die in the Roman Church," that is not so neither; for he that lives in the Roman Church with such a resolution, is presumed to believe as that Church believes. And he that doth so, I will not say is as guilty, but guilty he is, more or less, of the schism which that Church first caused by her corruptions, and now continues by them and her power together; and of all her damnable opinions too in point of misbelief (though perhaps A. C. [the Jesuit] will not have them called heresies, unless they have been condemned in some general council), and of all other sins also, which the doctrines and misbelief of that Church leads him into. And mark it, I pray. For it is one thing to live in a schismatical Church, and not communicate with it in the schism, or in any false worship that attends it. For so Elias lived among the ten tribes, and was not schismatical, and after him Elisæus. But then neither of them either countenanced the schism, or worshipped the calves in Dan or in Bethel. And so also, besides these prophets, did those thousands live in a schismatical Church, and communicate with it in the schism and in all the superstitions and corruptions which that Church teaches; nay, to live and die in them. For certainly here no man can so live in a schismatical Church, but, if he be of capacity enough to understand it, he must needs be a formal schismatic, or an involved one if he understand it not. And in this case the Church of Rome is either far worse or more cruel than the Church of Israel, even under Ahab and Jezebel, was. The synagogue indeed was corrupted a long time and in a great degree; but I do not find that this doctrine, you must sacrifice in the high places; or this, you may not go and worship at the one altar in Jerusalem, was either taught by the priests, or maintained by the prophets, or enjoined the people by the sanhedrim: nay, can you show me when any

Jew, living there devoutly according to the law, was ever punished for omitting the one of these, or doing the other? But the Church of Rome hath solemnly decreed her errors; and erring, hath yet decreed withal that she cannot err; and imposed upon learned men disputed and improbable opinions—transubstantiation, purgatory, and forbearance of the cup in the blessed eucharist, even against the express commandment of our Saviour, and that for articles of faith! And to keep off disobedience, whatever the corruption be, she hath bound up her decrees upon pain of excommunication, and all that follows upon it. Nay, this is not enough, unless the faggot be kindled to light them the way. This, then, may be enough for us to leave Rome, though the old prophet forsook not Israel.

And, therefore, in this present case, there is peril, great peril, of damnable, both schism and heresy, and other sin, by living and dying in the Roman faith, tainted with so many superstitions as at this day it is, and their tyranny to boot. So that here I may answer A. C. [the Jesuit] just as St. Augustine answered Petilian, the Donatist, in the fore-named case of baptism. For when Petilian pleaded the concession of his adversaries, “that baptism, as the Donatists administered it, was good and lawful,” and thence inferred (just as the Jesuit doth against me) “that it was better for men to join with his congregation than with the Church,” St. Augustine answers: “We do indeed approve among heretics baptism; but so, not as it is the baptism of heretics, but as it is the baptism of Christ. Just as we approve the baptism of adulterers, idolators, witches; and yet not as it is theirs, but as it is Christ’s baptism. For none of these, for all their baptism, shall inherit the kingdom of God: and the apostle reckons heretics among them.” And again, afterwards, “It is not therefore yours (saith St. Augustine) that we fear to destroy, but Christ’s; which, even among the sacrilegious, is of and in itself holy.” Now you shall see how full this comes home to our Petilianist, A. C. [the Jesuit] (for he is one of the contractors of the Church of Christ to Rome, as the Donatists confined it to Africa); and he cries out, “that a possibility of salvation is a free confession of the adversaries, and is of force against them, and to be thought extorted from them by force of truth itself.” I answer: I do indeed, for my part (leaving other men free to their own judgment), acknowledge a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church; but so, as that which I grant to Romanists, is not as they are Romanists, but as they are Christians: that is, as they believe the creed and hold the foundation, Christ himself—not as they associate themselves, wittingly and knowingly, to the gross superstitions of the Roman

Church. Nor do I fear to destroy, "quod ipsorum est," that which is theirs; but yet I dare not proceed so roughly as, with theirs, or for theirs, to deny or weaken the foundation, which is Christ's, even among them, and which is and remains holy, even in the midst of their superstitions. And I am willing to hope there are many among them which keep within that Church, and yet wish the superstitions abolished which they know, and which pray to God to forgive their errors in what they know not; and which hold the foundation firm, and live accordingly; and which would have all things amended that are amiss, were it in their power. And to such I dare not deny a possibility of salvation, for that which is Christ's in them; though they hazard themselves extremely by keeping so close to that which is superstition, and in the case of images comes too near idolatry. Nor can A. C. [the Jesuit] shift this off by adding, "living and dying in the Roman Church." For this "living and dying in the Roman Church" (as is before expressed) cannot take away the possibility of salvation from them which believe and repent of whatsoever is error or sin in them; be it sin known to them, or be it not. But then, perhaps, A. C. [the Jesuit] will reply, that if this be so, I must then maintain that a Donatist also, living and dying in schism, might be saved. To which I answer two ways. First, that a plain honest Donatist, having (as is confessed) true baptism, and holding the foundation (as for aught I know the Donatists did), and repenting of whatever was sin in him, and would have repented of the schism, had it been known to him, might be saved. Secondly, that in this particular, the Romanist and the Donatist differ much; and that, therefore, it is not of necessary consequence that if a Romanist now (upon the conditions before expressed) may be saved, therefore a Donatist heretofore might: for, in regard of the schism, the Donatist was, in one respect, worse and in greater danger of damnation than the Romanist now is, and in other respects better and in less danger. The Donatist was in greater danger of damnation, if you consider the schism itself then; for they brake from the orthodox Church without any cause given them. And here it doth not follow, if the Romanist have a possibility of salvation, therefore a Donatist hath. But if you consider the cause of the schism now, then the Donatist was in less danger of damnation than the Romanist is; because the Church of Rome gave the first and the greatest cause of the schism (as is proved before).* And, therefore, here it doth not follow, that

See section 21 of the Conference. "It is too true, indeed, that there is a miserable rent in the Church, and I make no question but

if a Donatist have possibility of salvation, therefore a Romanist hath; for a lesser offender may have that possibility of safety which a greater hath not.

And, last of all, whereas A. C. [the Jesuit] adds, that "confessedly there is no such peril," that is a most loud untruth, and an ingenious man would never have said it. For in the same place, where I grant a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church, I presently add, that it is no *secure* way in regard of Roman corruptions. And A. C. [the Jesuit] cannot plead for himself, that he either knew not this, or that he overlooked it; for himself disputes against it as strongly as he can. What modesty or truth call you this? For he that confesses a possibility of salvation, doth not thereby confess no peril of damnation in the same way. Yea, but if some Protestants should say there is peril of damnation to live and die in the Roman faith, their saying is nothing in comparison of the number or worth of those that say there is none! So A. C. [the Jesuit] again: "And beside, they which say it are contradicted by their own more learned brethren." Here A. C. [the Jesuit] speaks very confusedly; but whether he speak of Protestants, or Romanists, or mixes, the matter is not great; for as for the number and worth of men, they are no necessary concluders of truth. Not number; for who would be judged by the many? The time was when the Arians were too many for the orthodox. Not worth simply; for that, once misled, is of all other the greatest misleader. And yet God forbid that to worth weaker men should not yield in difficult and perplexed questions; yet so as that, when matters fundamental in the faith come in question, they finally rest upon a higher and clearer certainty than can be found in either number or weight of men. Besides, if you mean your own party, you have not yet proved your party more worthy for life or learning than the Protestants. Prove that first, and then it will be time to tell you how worthy many of your Popes have been, for either life or learning! As for the rest, you may blush to say it; for all Protestants unanimously agree in this, "that there is great peril of damnation for any man to live and die in the Roman persuasion;" and you are not able to produce

the best men do most bemoan it; nor is he a Christian that would not have unity, might he have it with truth. But I never said nor thought that the Protestants made this rent. The cause of the schism is yours; for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth and redress of abuses. For a schism must needs be theirs whose the cause of it is. The woe runs full out of the mouth of Christ ever against him that gives the offence, not against him that takes it ever."

any one Protestant that ever said the contrary. And, therefore, that is a most notorious slander, where you say that they which affirm this peril of damnation are contradicted by their own more learned brethren.

VII. And thus having cleared the way against the exceptions of A. C. [the Jesuit] to the two former instances, I will now proceed (as I promised) to make this further appear, that A. C. [the Jesuit] and his fellows dare not stand to that ground which is here laid down, namely, “That, in point of faith and salvation, it is safest for a man to take that way which the adversary confesses to be true, or whereon the differing parties agree;” and that if they do stand to it, they must be forced to maintain the Church of England, in many things, against the Church of Rome.

And, first, I instance in the article of our Saviour Christ’s descent into hell. I hope the Church of Rome believes this article; and, withal, that hell is the place of the damned—so doth the Church of England.* In this, then, these dissenting Churches agree; therefore, according to the former rule (yea, and here in truth, too), it is safest for a man to believe this article of the Creed, as both agree—that is, that Christ descended in soul into the place of the damned. But this the Romanists will not endure at any hand; “for the school agree in it, that the soul of Christ, in the time of his death, went really no further than *in limbum patrum* ;” which is not the place of the damned, but a region or quarter in the upper part of hell (as they call it), built up there by the Romanist, without licence of either Scripture or the primitive Church. And a man would wonder how those builders, with untempered mortar, found light enough in that dark place to build as they have done.

Secondly, I will instance in the institution of the sacrament in both kinds. That Christ instituted it so, is confessed by both Churches; that the ancient Churches received it so, is agreed by both Churches; therefore, according to the former rule (and here in truth, too), it is safest for a man to receive this sacrament in both kinds. And yet here this ground of A. C. [the Jesuit] must not stand for good; no, not at Rome: but to receive in one kind is enough for the laity! And the poor Bohemians must have a dispensation,† that it may be lawful for them to receive the sacrament as Christ commanded them. And this must not be granted to them neither, unless they will acknowledge (most opposite to truth) that they are “not bound

* See Note I.

† By the Council of Basil. Bellarmine de Sac. lib. i., c. 2.

by divine law" to receive it in both kinds. And here their building with untempered mortar appears most manifestly; for they have no show to maintain this, but the fiction of Thomas of Aquin. "That he which receives the body of Christ receives also his blood, *per concomitantiam*, 'by concomitancy;' because the blood goes always with the body," of which term Thomas was the first author I can yet find. First, then, if this be true, I hope Christ knew it; and then, why did he so unusefully institute it in both kinds? Next, if this be true, "concomitancy" accompanies the priest, as well as the people; and, then, why may not he receive it in one kind also? Thirdly, this is apparently not true; for the eucharist is a sacrament *sanguinis effusi*, of blood shed and poured out, and blood poured out, and so severed from the body, goes not along with the body, *per comitantiam*. And yet Christ must rather err, or proceed I know not how, in the institution of the sacrament in both kinds, rather than the holy unerring Church of Rome may do amiss in the determination for it, and the administration of it in one kind! Nor will the distinction, "that Christ instituted this as a sacrifice to which both kinds were necessary," serve the turn; for, suppose that true, yet he instituted it as a sacrament also, or else that sacrament had no institution from Christ, which I suppose A. C. [the Jesuit] dares not affirm. And that institution which the sacrament had from Christ was in both kinds.

And, since here is mention happened of sacrifice, my third instance shall be in the sacrifice which is offered up to God, in that great and high mystery of our redemption by the death of Christ. For as Christ offered up himself once for all, a full and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, so did he institute and command a memory of this sacrifice in a sacrament, even till his coming again. For at and in the eucharist, we offer up to God three sacrifices; one by the priest only, that is the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death,* represented in bread broken and wine poured out; another by the priest and the people jointly, and that is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ; the third, by every particular man for himself only, and that is the sacrifice of every man's body and soul, to serve him in both all the rest of his life for this blessing thus bestowed on him. Now, thus far these dissenting Churches agree, that in the eucharist there is a sacrifice of duty, and a sacrifice of praise, and a sacrifice of commemoration of Christ.

* See Note II.

Therefore, according to the former rule (and here, in truth, too), it is safest for a man to believe the commemorative, the praising, and the performing sacrifice; and to offer them duly to God, and leave the Church of Rome, in this particular, to her superstitions, that I may say no more. And would the Church of Rome stand to A. C.'s [the Jesuit] rule, and believe dissenting parties where they agree, were it but in this, and that before of the real Presence, it would work far towards the peace of Christendom. But the truth is, they pretend the peace of Christendom, but care no more for it than as it may uphold, at least, if not increase, their own greatness.

My fourth instance shall be in the sacrament of baptism, and the things required as necessary to make effectual to the receiver. They, in the common received doctrine of the Church of Rome, are three—the matter, the form, and the intention of the priest to do that which the Church doth, and intends he should do. Now all other divines, as well ancient as modern, and both the dissenting Churches also, agree in the two former; but many deny that the intention of the priest is necessary. Will A. C. [the Jesuit] hold this rule, “that it is safest to believe, in a controverted point of faith, that which the dissenting parties agree on, or which the adverse party confesses?” If he will not, then why should he press that, as a rule to direct others, which he will not be guided by himself? And if he will, then he must go professedly against the Council of Trent, which hath determined it as *de fide*, as a point of faith, that the intention of the priest is necessary to make the baptism true and valid. Though in the history of that Council it is most apparent that the bishops and other divines there could not tell what to answer to the Bishop of Minors, a Neapolitan, who declared his judgment openly against it in the face of that Council.*

My fifth instance is, we say, and can easily prove, there are divers errors, and some gross ones, in the Roman Missal. But I myself have heard some Jesuits confess, that in the Liturgy of the Church of England there is *no positive error*; and being pressed why, then, they refuse to come to our churches, and serve God with us, they answered, they could not do it, because, though our Liturgy had in it nothing ill, yet it wanted a great deal of that which was good, and was in their service. Now here let A. C. [the Jesuit] consider again; here is a plain confession of the adverse part, and both agree there is nothing in our service but that which is holy and good. What will the

* See History of the Council of Trent. (Ed. Lat., 1622) lib. ii., p. 277.

Jesuit, or A. C., say to this? If he forsake his ground, then it is not safest, in point of divine worship, to join faith, as the dissenting parties agree, or to stand to the adversaries' own confession; if he be so hardy as to maintain it, then the English Liturgy is better and safer to worship God by than the Roman Mass, which yet, I presume, A. C. [the Jesuit] will not confess.

VIII. In all these instances (the matter so falling out of itself for the argument enforces it not) the thing is true; but not therefore true, because the dissenting parties agree in it, or because the adverse part confesses it; yet lest the Jesuit, or A. C. for him, further to deceive the weak, should infer that this rule in so many instances is true, and false in none but that one concerning baptism among the Donatists, and therefore the argument is true, *ut pluremque*, as for the most, and that therefore it is the safest way to believe that which dissenting parties agree on, I will lay down some other particulars of as great consequence as any can be in or about Christian religion. And if in them A. C., or any Jesuit, dare say, that it is safest to believe as the dissenting parties agree, or as the adverse party confesses, I dare say he shall be an heretic in the highest degree, if not an infidel.

And, first, where the question was betwixt the orthodox and the Arian, whether the Son of God were consubstantiated with the Father: the orthodox said he was *ὁμοῦσιος*, of the same substance; the Arian came within a letter of the truth, and said he was *ὁμοιῶσιος*, of like substance. Now he that says he is of the same substance, confesses he is of like substance and more, that is, identity of substance; for identity contains in it all degrees of likeness, and more: but he that acknowledges and believes that he is of like nature, and no more, denies the identity. Therefore, if this rule be true, "that it is safest to believe that in which the dissenting parties agree, or which the adverse part confesses" (which A. C. [the Jesuit] makes such great vaunt of), than it is safest for a Christian to believe that Christ is of like nature with God the Father, and be free from belief that he is consubstantial with him, which yet is concluded by the Council of Nice as necessary to salvation, and the contrary condemned for damnable heresy.

Secondly, in the question about the resurrection, between the orthodox and divers gross heretics of old and the anabaptists and libertines of late. For all or most of these dissenting parties agree that there ought to be a resurrection from sin to a state of grace, and that this resurrection only is meant in divers passages of holy Scripture, together with the life of the soul, which they are content to say is immortal; but they utterly

deny any resurrection of the body after death, so with them that article of the Creed is gone. Now, then, if any man will guide his faith by this rule of A. C. [the Jesuit], the consent of dissenting parties, or the confession of the adverse part, he must deny the resurrection of the body from the grave to glory, and believe none but that of the soul from sin to grace, which the adversaries confess, and in which the dissenting parties agree.

Thirdly, in the great dispute of all others about the unity of the Godhead. All dissenting parties, Jew, Turk, and Christian—among Christians, orthodox and antitrinitarian, of old—and, in these latter times, orthodox and Socinian (that horrid and mighty monster of all heresies), agree in this, that there is but one God. And, I hope, it is as necessary to believe one God our Father, as one Church our mother. Now will A. C. [the Jesuit] say here, it is safest believing as the dissenting parties agree, or as the adverse parties confess, namely, that there is but one God, and so deny the Trinity, and therewith the Son of God, the Saviour of the world?

Fourthly, in a point as fundamental in the faith as this, namely, whether Christ be true and very God; for which very points most of the martyrs in the primitive Church laid down their lives. The dissenting parties here were the orthodox believers, who affirm he is both God and man (for so our Creed teaches us); and all those heretics which affirm Christ to be man, but deny him to be God—as the Arians, and Carpocratians, and Cerinthus, and Hebion, with others, and, at this day, the Socinians. These dissenting parties agree fully and clearly that Christ is man. Well, then, dare A. C. [the Jesuit] stick to his rule here, and say, it is safest for a Christian, in this great point of faith, to govern his belief by “the consent of these dissenting parties,” or “the confession and acknowledgment of the adverse party,” and so settle his belief that Christ is a mere man, and not God? I hope he dares not. So then this rule, “to resolve a man’s faith into that in which the dissenting parties agree, or which the adverse part confesses,” is as often false as true, and false in as great, if not greater matters, than those in which it is true. And, where it is true, A. C. [the Jesuit] and his fellows dare not govern themselves by it, the Church of Rome condemning those things which that rule proves. And yet, while they talk of uncertainty, nay, of infallibility (less will not serve their turns), they are driven to make use of such poor shifts as these, which have no certainty at all of truth in them, but infer falsehood and truth alike. And yet for this also men will be so weak, or so wilful, as to be seduced by them.

IX. I told you before, that the force of the preceding argu-

ment lies upon two things, the one expressed, and that is past. —the other, “upon the by,” which comes now to be handled. And that is your continual poor outcry against us, “That we cannot be saved because we are out of the Church.” Sure if I thought I were out, I would get in as fast as I could. For we confess, as well as you, that “out of the Catholic Church of Christ, there is no salvation.” But what do you mean by “out of the Church?” Sure, out of the Roman Church. Why, but the Roman Church and the Church of England are but two distinct members of that Catholic Church which is spread over the face of the earth. Therefore, Rome is not the house where the Church dwells, but Rome itself, as well as other particular Churches, dwells in this great universal house, unless you will shut up the Church in Rome as the Donatist did in Afric. I come a little lower. Rome, and other national Churches, are in this universal Catholic house as so many daughters to whom (under Christ) the care of the household is committed by God the Father, and the Catholic Church the Mother of all Christians. Rome, as an elder sister (but not the eldest neither), had a great care committed unto her in, and from, the prime times of the Church, and to her bishop in her. But at this time (to let pass many brawls that have formerly been in the house) England and some others sisters of hers are fallen out in the family. What then? Will the Father and the Mother, God and the Church, cast one child out because another is angry with it? Or when did Christ give that power to an elder sister, that she and her steward, the bishop there, should thrust out what child she pleased? especially when she herself is justly accused to have given the offence that is taken in the house! Or will not both Father and Mother be sharper to her, for this unjust and unnatural usage of her younger sisters, but their dear children? Nay, is it not the next way to make them turn her out of doors that is so unnatural to the rest? It is well for all Christian men and Churches that the Father and Mother of them are not so cursed as some would have them. And salvation need not be feared of any dutiful child, nor outling from the Church, because this elder sister’s faults are discovered in the house, and she grown froward for it against them that complained. But as children cry when they are waked out of sleep, so do you, and wrangle with all that come near you. And Stapleton confesses “That ye were in a dead sleep and over much rest when the Protestant stole upon you.” Now, if you can prove that Rome is properly the Catholic Church itself (as you commonly call it), speak out and prove it.

NOTES

I.

It is not very clear what the archbishop intends in this passage ; probably, however, it is chiefly meant as an *argumentum ad hominem*. There was a good deal of controversy in the primacy of Whitgift (See Soames's "Elizabethan History") respecting this Article. The Article of our Church simply says, "As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went into hell." (Art. iii.) This is sufficiently wide and vague to admit of any interpretation. The Roman doctrine is also somewhat obscure ; but that Church generally maintains, that our Lord's mission in spirit, while his body was in the grave, was confined to the object mentioned by St Peter (i. 3, 19), to "preach to the spirits *ἐν φυλακῇ*." This, they expressed by saying, that he descended only to the *limbus patrum*. Calvin, and the English Puritans following him, asserted, that our Lord underwent, in spirit, the very torments of the damned ; and did not, merely, as some said, descend to their state and abode for a special mission. The Church of England's opinion generally inclined rather to this latter middle view between the Calvinian and the Roman. The Church refused to define where Scripture and Tradition were indefinite ; she refused to limit the meaning of St. Peter (i. 4, 6) to any *limbus patrum*, but refused also to sanction Calvin's notes.

I.

II. [by the Archbishop.]

"Christ, by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained eternal redemption for us." (Heb. ix. 12.) And this was done by way of sacrifice, "by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once made." (Heb. x. 10.) "Christ gave himself for us, to be an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour unto God." (Eph. v. 2.) Out of which place the school infers, "*Passionem Christi verum sacrificium fuisse.*" (Thom. p. 3. q. 48. Art. 3, C.) "Christ did suffer death upon the cross for our redemption ; and made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."—"Eccles. Angl. in Canone Consecrationis Eucharist."

"And Christ did institute, and in his Holy Gospel command us, to continue a perpetual memory of that his most precious death until his coming again."—"Eccles. Angl." *Ibid.*

Sacramentum hoc est commemorativum Dominicæ passionis quæ fuit verum sacrificium ; et sic nominatur sacrificium. (Thom. p. 3. q. 73. Art. 4, C.) "Christ being offered up once for all, in his own proper person, yet is said to be offered up," &c., in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation once for ever made is thereby represented.—"Lambert in Fox his Martyrology," vol. ii. edit. Lond. 1579, p. 1033—*Et postea* : "It is a memorial or representation thereof."—*Ibid.*

The master of the sentences judged truly in this point, saying, "That which is offered and consecrated of the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memory and representation of the true sacrifice

and holy oblation made on the altar of the cross." (Archbishop Cranmer, in his answer to Bishop Gardiner concerning that most holy sacrament, lib. 5. p. 377.) And again, this shortly is the mind of Lombardus, "That the thing which is done at God's board is a sacrifice, and so is that also which was made upon the cross, but not after one manner of understanding; for this was the thing indeed, and that is the commemoration of the thing." (*Ibid.*) So likewise Bishop Jewel acknowledgeth "incruentum et rationabile sacrificium," spoken of by Eusebius de Demonstrat. Evang. lib. 1. Jewel's reply against Harding, Art. 7. Divis. 9. Again, the ministration of the holy communion is sometimes of the ancient Fathers called an "unbloody sacrifice," not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence that is imagined to be there without blood-shedding, but for that it representeth and reporteth to our minds, that one and everlasting sacrifice that Christ made in his body upon the cross. This Bishop Jewel disliketh not in his answer to Harding, Art. 17. Divis. 14. "Patres cœnam Dominicam duplici de causa vocarunt sacrificium incruentum. Tum quod sit imago et sollemnis repræsentatio illius sacrificii *ἱλαστικὸν* quod Christus cum sanguinis effusione obtulit in cruce; tum quod sit etiam eucharisticum sacrificium id est, sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis, cum pro beneficiis omnibus, tum pro redemptione imprimis per Christi mortem peractâ." (Zanch. in ii. Præcept. Decal. tom. 4, page 459.) And Dr. Fulk also acknowledges a sacrifice in the eucharist, in St. Matthew, xxvi. 26. "Non dissimulaverint Christiani in cœna Domini, sive ut ipsi loquebantur, in sacrificio altaris peculiari quodam modo præsentem se venerari Deum Christianorum sed quæ essent forma ejus sacrificii quod per symbola panis et viri peragitur, hoc veteres præ se non ferebant."—Isa. Cassaub. Exercit. 16. ad Annal. Baron. sec. 43, p. 560.

(2.) In the Liturgy of the Church of England we pray to God immediately after the reception of the sacrament, that he would be pleased to accept this "our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," &c. And Heb. viii. 15: "The sacrifice propitiatory was made by Christ himself only, but the sacrifice commemorative and gratulatory is made by the priest and the people."—Archbishop Cranmer, in his answer to Bishop Gardiner, lib. 5, p. 377.

"I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you give up your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God."—Rom. xii. 1.

"We offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee." So the Church of England, in the prayer after the receiving of the blessed sacrament.

THE SUCCESSION,

AND SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY OF THE EPISCOPATE.

AUTHORIZED BY CHARLES I. KING OF ENGLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Tract is taken from the debate held at Newport (September, 1648), between the Royal Martyr and the Puritan Ministers. The troubles of the Church were well nigh approaching their consummation; indeed, in a few weeks from this time, the altar and the throne were cast down. There is force in the good confession of King Charles, as to our Church's principles, arising peculiarly from the fact that his position at that time was such, that he would have given up for peace and safety anything that *could* have been surrendered without surrender of vital principle. Let his statements be read as those of a *layman tempted, both by station and circumstances, to abate to the lowest point possible* the theory of the episcopacy of the English Church.

R.

CAMBRIDGE—*The Feast of the Epiphany.*

WHAT you have offered by way of reply to his Majesty's second paper, of October 6th, in yours of October 17th, in order to the further satisfaction of his conscience in point of episcopacy, his Majesty heard, when it was publicly read by you, with diligent attention; and hath since (so far as his leisure would permit) taken the same into his private and serious consideration; wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his judgment according to such persuasions as yourselves have in the matter in debate, but also taketh special notice of the civility of your applications to him, both in the body and conclusion of your reply; yet he cannot but observe withal, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this reply. Which to have shown will sufficiently remonstrate your present reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to

every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time than his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, especially since his Majesty hath often found mutual returns of long answers and replies to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new questions, than informing the conscience by removing former scruples.

1. [*Reply*, Sect. 1, 2.] As to the Scriptures cited in the margin of his Majesty's first paper. It being granted by you that those Scriptures did prove the apostles, and others, being single persons, to have exercised respectively the several points in the paper specified, which powers, by your own confessions, (in this *Reply*, Sect. 7), a single person who is but a mere presbyter hath no right to exercise: and it being withal evident, that a bishop, in the ecclesiastical sense, and as distinct from a presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exercise of some or all of the said powers, which a mere presbyter hath not; the conclusion seemeth natural and evident, that such a power of Church government as we usually call episcopal, is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. [*Reply*, Sect. 3, 5.] As to the bishops' challenge [*i. e.*, what they lay claim to.] First, when you speak of a writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesty's words as if he had shared and cantoned out the episcopal office, one part to the bishops alone, and another to the presbyters alone: and you fall upon the same again afterwards. (Sect. 6.) Whereas his Majesty's meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the office (that of teaching) was common to both alike; but the other part (that of governing Churches) to the bishop alone.

Secondly, you infer from his Majesty's words, "That the bishops' challenge appears to be grown to more than was formerly pretended to." Which inference his Majesty's words, by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear. For, having proved from Scripture the power of Church government, in all the three mentioned particulars, to have been exercised by the apostles and others; his Majesty said but this only, "That the bishops' challenge [claim] no more, or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their episcopal office, than what properly falleth under one of these three." The words are true: for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say they challenge no more. But the inference is not good: for he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of ordination, which is purely spiritual, his Majesty conceiveth the

bishops' challenge to have been much what the same in all times of the Church, and therefore it is that the matter of ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between bishops and presbyters, especially after the times of Constantine; which his Majesty, by your relating to Chrysostom and Hierome, taketh to be the same you call the times of grown episcopacy.

But his Majesty seeth no necessity that the bishops' challenge to the power of jurisdiction should be at all times as large as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have been; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various conditions of the Church in different times.

And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the bishops under Christian princes do challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their episcopal office, precisely as was exercised in the primitive times by bishops, before the days of Constantine. The reason of the difference being evident, that in those former times under Pagan princes, the Church was a distinct body of itself, divided from the commonwealth, and so was to be governed by its own rules and rulers. The bishops, therefore, of those times, (though they had no outward coercive power over men's persons or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man, when he became a member of the Church, did, *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their government, they) exercised a very large power of jurisdiction in spiritualities, in making ecclesiastical canons, receiving accusations, conventing [calling before a judge or judicature] the accused, examining witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lord's Supper, enjoining penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all they exercised as well over presbyters as others. But after that, the Church under Christian princes began to be incorporated into the commonwealth* (whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the civil and ecclesiastical powers), the jurisdiction of bishops in the outward exercise of it, was subordinate unto, and limitable by the supreme civil power; and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the bishops of this realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm, in a parenthesis, as if nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the apostles but their gifts and enablements [abilities, powers] only; whereas

* Or rather "the commonwealth incorporated into it:" for the Church did not Paganize itself, but the State Christianized itself.—ED.

his Majesty in that paper hath, in express words, named as extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their doctrine; without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate calling, and if there be any other of like reason. Fourthly, for the claim to a *jus divinum*, his Majesty was willing to decline both the term (as being by reason of the different acceptation of it subject to misconstruction) and the dispute, whether by Christ or his apostles? Nevertheless, although his Majesty sees no cause to dislike their opinion, who derive the episcopal power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; yet for that the practice in them is so clear and evident, and the warrant from him expressed but in general terms ("As my Father sent me, so send I you," and the like). His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evidential way, than upon the warrant which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. [*Reply*, Sect. 6.] As to the definition of episcopacy.

First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to archiepiscopal and patriarchal government, as well as episcopal, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly, his Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (Timothy, Titus, and the "angels," [Rev. ii. iii.]) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, viz., that "they had each their several peculiar changes," and that "within their several precincts they had authority over presbyters as well as others."

Neither, thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needful that any word be added to the *genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should anywhere put all the parts of the definition together; it would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an apostle, or a prophet, or an evangelist, or a presbyter, or a deacon, or indeed almost of anything, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue is not the name or work merely, but the office; and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular office from a general or common work: but judgeth withal, it can be no fallacy to argue a particular office from such a work as is peculiar to that office, and is, as it were, the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy, from a work done by a single person, which a single presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an office in that person distinct from the office of a presbyter.

4. [*Reply*, Sect. 7.] As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz., Titus i. ; Acts xx. 2 ; Peter 5.

First, when you say you take his Majesty's concession, that in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct office of bishops and presbyters ; if you take it so, truly you take it gratis (his Majesty never gave it you) : and you mistake it, too, more ways than one ; for, to speak properly, his Majesty made no concession at all. It was rather a preterition [act of going past], in order to the present business, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the truth of your expositions of those places. For his own express words are, "Although his Majesty be not sure that the proof will reach so far in each of those places ;" which words plainly evidence that which you call his Majesty's concession to be no concession ; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usual in disputations—*Dato non concesso*.

But in that concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground these words, ("That in those times of the Church there was no distinct," &c.), there being not anything in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture.* What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides (which are the words you take for a concession) [and] was but this : "That supposing (but not granting) the word bishop to be used in all those places to signify a presbyter, the office and work in those places mentioned as the office and work of a bishop, are (upon that supposal) the office and work of a presbyter, which is so manifest a truth, that no man, without admitting contradictions, can say the contrary." But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesty's concession, yourselves, by comparing his words with yours, may easily judge. But yourselves a little after make a concession which his Majesty (warned by your example how soon another's meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, viz., when you say (and when you bring reasons also to prove it), that "it seemeth manifest that ordinations and censures are not to be exercised by a single presbyter."

2. You repeat your arguments formerly drawn from those places, and press the same from force of the words *ποιμναινῶν* and *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, and from the circumstances of the text, and otherwise adding withal, that his Majesty hath waived the notice or

* See Mr. Hey's Tract on the Three-fold Ministry.—Ed.

answer of something by you alleged therein. Thereunto his Majesty saith, that he waived not anything in your former paper for any great difficulty he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, and knowing to what frailties arguments drawn from names and words, and conjectural expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration, in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit, the satisfaction of his judgment and conscience in the main business. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, that there are [those] who by the conjectures grounded (as seems to them) on some probabilities in the text, interpret those places in the Acts and in St. Peter, of bishops, properly so called, and in the restrained ecclesiastical sense, rather than of ordinary presbyters—that supposing them both meant of ordinary presbyters, the words *ποιμαίνειν* and *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (which signify to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applied to them as inferior pastors in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the flock being in both the places expressly mentioned), which hindereth not, but the same may, in a more peculiar manner, be appropriated to bishops, in respect of that authority and oversight they have over presbyters themselves also; that still granting your own interpretation of the word bishop in that place to Titus, it can prove no more than that the two names in that place are given to the same function: that from all the premises in your paper there laid together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, that the office of a bishop and presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the offices were not, in those places, distinguished by those names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular qualification, work, or duty, unto a bishop, distinct from a presbyter by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question near to an issue, his Majesty should well have hoped that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the epistles only of St. Paul to Timothy, wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of presbyters and deacons, that Timothy might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those offices; so, in the directions given to Timothy throughout those epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work, and duty of a bishop, that Timothy might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his episcopal office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

5. As to the signification of the word *episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church officers, you acknowledge; and that the same was after, by ecclesiastical usage, appropriated to bishops, you deny not; but the distinction

of *episcopus gregis*, and *episcopus pastorum*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitness of the word, as may seem by that passage where you say that his Majesty hath said that *episcopus* signifieth a keeper of shepherds, his Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person the style of *episcopus pastorum*, than there is in using of the word ἀρχιποιμην, or in calling Doeg the master of Saul's herdsmen. And for the thing itself, it cannot be denied, but that the apostles, and Timothy, and Titus (by what claim ordinary or extraordinary as to the present business it matters not), had the oversight and authority over many pastors, and were therefore truly and really *episcopi pastorum*. The appropriation of the names of *episcopus* and *presbyter* to these distinct offices, considering that it was done so early, and received so universally in the Church, as by the writings of Clemens, Ignatius, the canons (commonly called) of the apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majesty hath great reason to believe that it was done by consent of the primitive bishops, merely in honour of the apostles; out of their respect and reverence to those persons, and personal prerogatives, they chose to call themselves bishops rather than apostles, in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the apostles, when they spake of things proper to the episcopal function, not to use upon occasion the terms of apostle and apostolical in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture original of bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity and reason to believe that so many men of each quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation and reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate and even passions, of orthodox belief, sundry of them uninterested in the quarrel, and some of them, of later times, by interest and education biassed, rather the other way. Their assertions, positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat, et nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions), namely, that Christ constituted bishops in the apostles; that it was founded upon a divine law, that episcopacy is the ordinance of God; that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost so to order it, &c., insomuch as they counted Aerius a heretic for holding the contrary. And this

their judgment they delivered as led thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture—"God's word teacheth it." "It appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture." "From this place we learn," and the like)—which testimonies, should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equal thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessened thereby; inasmuch as one witness for the affirmative ought to be of more value than ten for the negative, and the testimony of one person that is not interested, than of a hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kind of trial, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture, his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet in the true stating of it, and in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact, and not of right. For what right soever the bishops have, or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of Christ or his apostles. Which matter of fact, if it be not in the most plain historical manner that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rational and proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the judgment, but especially to the practice of the nearest and subsequent times;* according to the received maxims, *Lex currit cum praxi*, and *Consuetudo optimus interpres legum*. Now he that shall find by all the best records extant that the distinction of bishops from, and the superiority over presbyters, was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the whole world, and their government submitted unto so unanimously by the presbysters, that there never was any considerable opposition made there against before Aerius (and that cried down as a heresy), nor since, till this last age: and shall duly consider withal, that if episcopal government has not an indubitable institution from the authority of Christ and his apostles, or if any other form of Church government could have pretended to such institution, had been the most impossible thing in the world, when there neither was any outward certain power to enforce it, nor could be any General Council to establish it, to have introduced such a form of government so suddenly and quietly into all Christian Churches, and not the spirit of any one presbyter for aught that appeareth for above three hundred years, to have been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their own and

* See Note I.

the Church's liberty against such an usurpation.† His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall consider the premises, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that government, will see reason enough to conclude the same to have something of divine institution in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtle wit of man can devise to persuade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh fit plainly to tell you, that such conjectural interpretations of Scripture as he hath yet met with in this argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgment wherein he hath been settled from his childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgment of antiquity, and to the constant practice of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which, in a matter of this nature, ought to weigh more than mere conjectural inferences from Scripture texts, that are not so attested. Which having now once told you, his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an answer to every allegation in the sequel of your reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. (*Reply*, sect. 9). As to the apostles' mission and succession.

To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, his Majesty declareth that his meaning was not, by distinguishing the mission and unction of the apostles, so to continue them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities; but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: for the apostles, after their last mission (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), whereby they were further warranted to their office and work, were yet to wait for that promised anointing (Luke xxiv. 49, Acts i. 4), the special effect whereof was the enduing them with gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better and more effectual performing of that their work and office; nor was it his Majesty's meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in the apostolical office to those gifts only (for his Majesty afterwards, in the same paper, mentioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is said), but only to instance in those gifts is one sort of extraordinaries, wherein the apostles were to have no successors. But his Majesty's full meaning was, that the whole apostolical office (setting aside all and only what was personal and extraordinary in them) consisted in the work of teaching and governing, which being both of necessary and perpetual use in the Church to the world's end, the office therefore was also to continue. And consequently, the persons of the

† See Note II.

apostles being mortal, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession; and that the ordinary successors of the apostles immediately, and into the whole office, both of teaching and governing, are properly the bishops; the presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the office of teaching only, and that mediately and subordinately to the bishops by whom they are to be ordained and authorized thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be as you call it, a dissolving of the apostolical office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of succession to the apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this:—The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ or his apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts—some acts of power, merely extraordinary; other acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetual use; othersome, lastly, and those not a few, occasional and prudential, fitted to the present condition of the Church in several times. To the apostles in matters of the first sort, none pretends succession; nor are either the examples of what the apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others, what they should do in matters of the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary rules binding all succeeding Church officers in all times to perpetual observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort only, which we may call substantials, into which the apostles are to have ordinary and standing successors.

But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, extraordinaries, substantials, and prudentials, may be known and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular discriminating characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse, therefore, must of necessity be had to those two more general criterions (the laws of all human actions)—reason and common usage. Our own reason will tell us, that instructing the people of God in the Christian faith, exhorting them to piety and good works, administering the sacraments, &c., which belong to the office of teaching; that ordaining of ministers, inspection over their lives and doctrines, and other administrations of ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the office of governing, are matters of great importance and necessitous concernment to the Churches in all ages and times, and therefore were to be concredited [entrusted] to standing officers in a line of succession, and accordingly were

judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ; but that, on the other side, the decrees concerning abstinence from blood and strangled (Acts xv.), the directions given for the ordering some things in the Church assemblies (1 Cor. xiv.), for making provisions for the poor (1 Cor. xvi. 1), for the choice and maintenance of widows (1 Tim. v.), for the enoiling [anointing] of the sick (James v. 14), and other like, were but occasional, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practice of them accordingly laid aside. So far the succession into the apostolical office, we find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the apostles committed to others, as, namely, to Timothy and Titus, the power both of teaching and governing their Churches.

And common reason and prudence dictating to us that it is good for the edifying of the Church that there should be many teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many governors; and the difference of bishops and presbyters to the purposes aforesaid having been by continual usage received, and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of bishops to the apostles, into so much of their office as was ordinary and perpetual, and such a distinction of bishops and presbyters as his Majesty hath formerly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their reason also, which, in interpreting Scripture upon all other occasions, they are enforced to do), nor anything by you produced in this paragraph, any further answer; only that distinction of eminently and formally, because you illustrate it by instancing in himself, his Majesty could not but take of, which he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illustration thereof not to be very apposite; for actions and operations show from the forms of things, and demonstrate the same as effects do their causes. The apostles, therefore, acting in the ordinary exercise of Church government, did act not eminently only, but formally also, as bishops rather than apostles.

7. (*Reply*, sect. 10, 15). As concerning Timothy and Titus. First, whether there were evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute; only, because you often call for Scripture proof, his Majesty thought fit to admonish you that in your answer you take two things for granted (*viz.*, that Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and that evangelists were such officers as you described), neither of which, if it should be denied, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other writers to attest it, as in your reply you have now

done Mr. Hooker's; neither have you, indeed, brought anything in this reply out of Scripture, to prove either of both, sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary mind.

Secondly, you seem (sect. 12) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesty's paper, which was not whether Timothy and Titus were evangelists or no (concerning which his Majesty neither did nor doth contend), but whether, in the Church government, they exercised, they acted as evangelists (as you affirm), and so only as extraordinary officers, or not? Zuinglius (having said that the name of a bishop or evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 Timothy iv., and concludeth *constat idem fuisse officium utriusque*, bishop or evangelist the same office both. Gerrard saith, the word *evangelist* in that place is taken generally, and not in the special sense; that is to say, for a minister of the Gospel at large (and the context there indeed seemeth to import no more), and not for an evangelist by peculiar office; and Scultetus not only affirmeth that St. Paul appointed Timothy and Titus to Ephesus and Crete, not as evangelists, but as Church governors; but saith further, that the epistles written to them both do evince it, and also bringeth reasons to prove it. Upon which particular reasons, Gillespey, &c., reject the conceit [idea, imagination] of their acting as evangelists, his Majesty certainly knows not; but if this be one of their arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information it is), that if, whatsoever is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, in point of ordination, discipline, and government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary officers, there will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church officer to the purposes aforesaid." His Majesty, then, recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, first, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary ministers only, tends to the subversion of all ministers as well as of the bishops (since, upon this very ground especially, the Socinians deny all mission and ordination of the ministers of the Church). And, secondly, if the contrary be proved by Gillespey, &c., by good arguments, that they acted as ordinary officers in the Church, then, whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claims of bishops, viz., of governing the Churches as single persons in ordinary office, than either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendering the sense of his reply as you have done, viz., "The Scriptures never call them bishops, but the Fathers do;" whereas if you had followed his sense in that paper, you might rather

have delivered this, "The Scripture describeth them as bishops, and the Fathers call them so." For that of yours, "The Scripture calls Timothy an evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn;" you should have said rather, "The Scripture doth not anywhere affirm of Titus, nor clearly prove of Timothy, that they were (by peculiar office) evangelists;" but that, in governing the Churches, they acted as the evangelists, or extraordinary officers, is by sundry late writers (the evasion itself having been out of late minted [invented]) refuted and rejected. For that of yours, "The Scripture relates their motion from church to church, but some affirm them to be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete;" it should have been, "Neither doth their motion from church to church hinder, but they might afterwards be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete; neither doth their being bishops at Ephesus and Crete hinder, but they might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be, by the apostles' appointment, often employed other where." For that of yours, "The Scripture makes distinction of evangelists and pastors, but some say that Timothy and Titus were both;" it should have been, "The Scripture maketh no such distinction of evangelists and pastors, but that the same persons might not only successively be both, but even at the same time also be called by both names."

Fourthly: though you say, "You do not undervalue the testimonies and catalogues mentioned," yet you endeavour (which cometh not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both, but too much, of those testimonies, by putting them off; as if, when they report Timothy and Titus, and others, to have been bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in debate. But of Hierome, upon whom you chiefly rely in this cause, the contrary is evident, who in this catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, wherein he was to deliver things *fide historica*, and to describe the persons such as are registered in that catalogue by their proper and distinctive titles and styles, he expressly styleth Timothy, Titus, Mark, Polycarp, and others, bishops of such and such places; and such, on the other side, as were but mere presbyters, *ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*, or *Alexandriæ presbyter*, &c., observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole book, that nothing can be more clear than that he understood the word *episcopus* no otherwise than in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense, and as a bishop is distinct from a presbyter. As for that passage you allege out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men, he must mean the practice of the apostolical times; and by *dominica dispositio*, the express precept of Christ, unless you would have him contradict what himself hath written in sundry other places, whose testimonies in the behalf of episcopal superiority are so

clear and frequent in his writings, that (although he, of all the ancients, be least suspected to favour that function overmuch) yet the bishops would not refuse to make him arbitrator in the whole business. As for the catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifth : your long discourse concerning the several stations and removes of Timothy and Titus (13, 14), and their being called away from Ephesus and Crete (15), his Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needful (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences—first, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures, to have made other inferences ; as, namely, that Timothy, and Titus, having accompanied St. Paul in many journeys, *postea et tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of Ephesus and Crete. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the several epistles written to them, sent by the apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence that they were not then bishops of those Churches, or that the government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge : if it be supposed withal (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you press again of 1 Timothy, i. 3, and Titus i. 5, weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your own judgments (for you say only they put fair to prove it), that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further answer, save only, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving Timothy at Ephesus, or Titus in Crete, for ordaining presbyters and deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as bishops ; for either there were colleges of presbyters in those places before their coming thither, or there were not ; if there were, and that such colleges had power to ordain presbyters and deacons without a bishop, then was there little need of sending Timothy and Titus so solemnly thither about the work ; if there were none, then had Timothy and Titus power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences, his Majesty thinketh, it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your principles.

That discourse you conclude with this observation, “ That in the same very epistle to Timothy out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a bishop, there is clear evidence both for presbyters imposing hands in ordination, and for their ruling ; ”

yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latin Fathers especially, and sundry later writers, as Calvin, and others, refer the word *πρεσβυτερικ* to the remoter substantive, grace or gift, and not to that of imposition of hands, and so understand it as meant of the office of presbytery, or, as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from that Greek word of *priesthood*, in Timothy himself, and not a college or company of presbyters collectively imposing hands on him; and that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do not understand by *πρεσβυτερικ*, there, a company of apostles or bishops, who laid hands on Timothy in his ordination to the office of a bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joining in that act in the primitive and succeeding times), and not of a college of mere presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of ruling, the place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your observation to be grounded, hath been by the adversaries of episcopal government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the only clear proof for the establishing of ruling-lay-elders, which interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

8. (*Reply*, sect. 16, 17). As to the angels of the Churches. His Majesty's purpose of naming these angels in his first paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted for the proving of what he intended but these two things only: first, that they were *personæ singulares*; and then they that had a superiority in their respective Churches, as well over presbyters as others, two being the periphrasis or definition of a bishop, his Majesty conceived it would follow of itself that they were bishops. That the epistles directed to them in the respective reproofs, precepts, threatenings, and other the contents thereof, did concern their fellow presbyters also, and, indeed, the whole Churches (which, in your last, you again remember), his Majesty did then, and doth still believe, finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgment of interpreters; only his Majesty said, and still doth, that that hindereth not, but that the angels to whom the epistles were directed were *personæ singulares* still. This his Majesty illustrated by a similitude, which, though it do not hold in some other respects, and, namely, those by you observed (for his Majesty never dreamt of a four-footed similitude), yet it perfectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough; so that there needeth no more to be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary, from Rev. ii. 24, "But I say to you (*ὑμῖν* plurally), and to the rest in

Thyatira," is plainly of no force, if those copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting be true; for then the reading would be this, "But I say to you, the rest in Thyatira." But, following the ordinary copies, the difficulty is not great, such manner of apostrophes, by changing the number or turning the speech to another person, being very useful, both in prophetic writings, such as this book of Revelation is, and in the epistles of this nature, written to one, but with reference to many others therein concerned. Beza expoundeth it *ὑμῖν*, to you (that is, the angel, as president, and his colleagues the other presbyters), and to the rest, that is, to the whole flock or people; which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the like forms of speech to be used in a letter written to a corporation, wherein the mayor and aldermen especially, but yet the whole town generally, were concerned, but directed to the mayor alone; or from a lord, containing some orders for his own household especially, and generally for the whole township, but, by inscription, directed to his steward only, or the like.

The consent of ancient and later writers was produced by his Majesty for the proof of the two things before named only, but especially of the first, viz., that the angels were *personæ singulares* (for the latter, viz., that they were superior to presbyters also, had been confessed by yourselves in your first grant before), but was not produced to prove the conclusion itself immediately, viz., that they were bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, that they were single persons, the concurrence is so general, that his Majesty remembereth not to have heard of any one single interpreter, before Brightman, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed), in his whole commentary upon the Revelation, doth scarce, if at all, anywhere else, save in their seven epistles, expound the word *angel* collectively, but still of one single person or or other, insomuch as he maketh one angel to be Gregory the Great, another Queen Elizabeth, another Cranmer, another Chemnitius, and the like; but generally both the Fathers and Protestant divines agree in this, that the angel was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *interminis*, he was the bishop; some naming the very persons of some of them, as of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and others; some calling him the chief pastor or superintendent of that Church; and those that speak least, and were more or less disaffected to bishops, as Beza, Doctor Reynolds, the Geneva Notes, and even Cartwright himself, the president or chief among the presbyters. And this they do sundry of them, not crudely delivering their opinions

only, and then no more, but they give reasons for it; and after examination of the several opinions, prefer this before the rest, affirming that *doctissimi quique interpretes*, all the best learned interpreters, so understand it, that they cannot understand it otherwise, unless they will offer violence to the text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the subdivision of those that had divided themselves from the common judgment of this Church, was meant by his Majesty, as to the subdivision in respect of this particular of the angels, wherein they differ one from another, and not as to the division in respect of their dislike of bishops, wherein they all agree. And truly his Majesty doth not yet see how either of their differences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no accommodation in the world being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a college consisting of many presbyters, to be one single person), or their recess [secession] wholly excused in the latter, their dissenting from the common and received judgment practice of the Christian Church, in the manner of episcopacy, and the evil consequence thereof, having, in his Majesty's opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the Protestant religion, and given more advantage (or colour, at least) to the Romish party to asperse the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they do, than their disagreement from the Church of Rome in any one controverted point whatsoever besides hath done.

(*Reply* sect. 17, 18). As to the apostles' successors. Here little is said, the substance whereof hath not been answered before; his Majesty therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, that the apostles were to have no necessary successors, or anything that was extraordinary, either in their mission or unction; that his Majesty spake not of succession into abilities, otherwise than by instance, mentioning other particulars withal, which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; that in the apostles' mission or commission (for his Majesty under the name of mission comprehendeth both), and consequently in the apostolical office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary, wherein they were to have successors; that bishops are properly their successors, in the whole apostolical office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have successors; that therefore the bishops' office may, in regard of that succession, be said to be apostolical; that yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called apostles, taking the denomination from the office, inasmuch as the denomination of the apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from the office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word itself rather importeth) from the immediateness of their mission, being sent immediately by Christ himself; in respect

whereof, for distinction sake, and in honour to their persons, it was thought fitter by those who succeeded in common usage to abstain from that denomination, and to be styled rather by the name of bishops; that if the apostles had no successors, the presbyters (who are their successors in part, immediately to the bishops) will be very hard set to prove the warrant of their own office and mission; which, if not derived from the apostles (who only received power of mission from Christ), by a continued line of succession, his Majesty seeth not upon what other bottom it can stand.

10. (*Reply*, sect. 19, 20). As to standing officers of the Church. You insisted upon two places of Scripture (Phil. i. 1, and 1 Tim. iii.) to prove that there were to be no more standing officers in the Church than the two in those places mentioned, viz., presbyters (who are there called bishops) and deacons; whereunto his Majesty's answer was, "That there might be others, though not mentioned in those places;" which answer, though it were alone sufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majesty showed withal, that supposing your interpretation of the word "bishop" in both places (viz., to denote the office of presbyter only), there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfy us, why that of bishop, in the distinct sense, should not be needful or proper to be named in those places.

His Majesty's former reason, though in *hypothesi*, and as applied to the church of Philippi, it be but conjectural, yet upon the credit of Ecclesiastical Histories, and consideration of the condition of those times, as it is set forth in the Scripture also, it will appear, in *thesi*, to be undoubtedly true, viz., that the apostles themselves first planted Churches; that they were perpetual governors, and chief of all the Churches whilst they lived; that, as the brethren grew greater by the propagation of the Gospel, they assumed others in *partem curæ*, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principal cities, and the towns and villages adjacent, as [S.] James at Jerusalem, and others in other places, sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the service of the Church: that the persons so by them appointed to such peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of ordination and other government under the apostles, and are therefore in the Church histories called bishops of those places in a distinct sense; that in some places where the apostles were themselves more frequently conversant, they did for some while govern the Churches immediately by themselves, before they set bishops there; and that, after the apostles' time, bishops only were the ordinary governors of the Churches of Christ: and his Majesty believeth it cannot be proved, either from

clear evidence of Scripture, or credible testimonies of antiquity, that ever any presbyter exercised the power either of ordination at all without a bishop, or in ordinary, and by their own sole authority, or otherwise, than as it was delegated unto them upon occasion, and for the time, by apostles and bishops.

For that place of Phil. i. 1, in particular, his Majesty's purpose being, not to interpret the place (work fitter for divines), but to manifest the inconsequence of the argument, whereby you would conclude but two standing officers only, because but two are there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no bishops in distinct sense there mentioned, because possibly the apostles had not as yet set any bishops over the Church, which his Majesty did not propose as the only, no, nor yet as the most probable conjecture (for which cause he delivered it so cautiously, saying only, it might be probable), but as that which for the present came first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as namely, of those expositors who take the words (with the bishops and deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to the persons saluted. To this sense Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, with the bishops and deacons, to the saints at Philippi, &c., or of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, that Epaphroditus was their actual Bishop of Philippi, but not to be mentioned in the inscription of the epistle, because he was not then at Philippi, but with St. Paul at Rome, when the epistle was written: any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of Phil. i. 1, will not do you much service in this question.

In the epistles to Timothy and Titus, the apostle directeth and admonisheth them, as bishops, particularly concerning ordination of ministers, that they do it advisedly, and ordain none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which directions and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all of after-times, as well as unto them. But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the ordination of bishops, at least unless it could be made appear that they were to ordain some such in those places; nor perhaps if that could be made to appear, inasmuch as in those epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between presbyters and deacons in the manner of their ordination, both being to be performed by the bishop, and by imposition of hands, and so both comprehended under that general rule ("Lay hands suddenly on no man"), but only, and that very little, and scarce

considerable (as to the making of distinct offices), in the qualification of their persons.

The ordination therefore of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, being to be performed in the same manner, and the same qualifications after a sort, saving such differences as the importance of their several offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things), being required in both, it had been sufficient if in those epistles there had been directions given concerning the ordination and qualification of but one sort of Church officers only; as in the epistle to Titus we see there are of presbyters only, and no mention made of deacons in the whole epistle. Whence it may be well concluded, that there was to be no other standing officer in the Church of Crete but presbyters only, because St. Paul giveth no directions to Titus concerning any other; as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other officers in the Church of Ephesus but presbyters and deacons only, because St. Paul giveth no directions to Timothy concerning any other.

11. (*Reply*, sect. 27). As to the ages succeeding the apostles. Concerning the judgment of ecclesiastical writers about the divine right of episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be more in the expressions than in their meaning, some calling it divine, others apostolical, and some (but not many) ecclesiastical; but that the superiority of bishops above presbyters began in the apostles' times, and had its foundation in the institution either of Christ himself or of his apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (Aerius excepted) that any till these latter ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the catalogues,* some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all human histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all indifferences there are in historiographers, in reciting the succession of the Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian kings, and of the Saxon kings in England. And we find far more inextricable intricacies in the "*Fasti Consulares*," the catalogues of the Roman consuls (notwithstanding the great care in keeping the public records, and the exactness of the Roman histories), than are to be found in episcopal catalogues, those especially of the chiefest cities, as Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, &c.; yet as all men believe there were kings in those countries, and consuls

* See Note III.

in Rome in those times, so (as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the catalogues of bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubted not but many of the differences you instance in may be fairly reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing in self.

That which you say in answer hereunto, that the ecclesiastical writers called them bishops, in compliance to the language of their own times, after the name of presbyters and bishops were distinguished, but that they were not indeed bishops in the proper sense now in question; his Majesty, who believeth the distinction of those names to have begun presently after the apostles' times (if not rather whilst some of them were living), doth consequently believe, that as they were called so, so they were indeed bishops in that proper sense. It appeareth by Ignatius, in his epistles everywhere, how wide the difference was in his time between a bishop and a mere presbyter. If Hierome only, and some a little ancients than he, had applied the name bishop to persons that lived some ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to such a compliance as you speak of, but that they received both the name and the truth of their relations from unquestionable testimonies and records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances; for example, to instance in one only, Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who is thought to be the angel of that Church, in the Revelation; Ignatius, who was contemporary with him, wrote an epistle to him, and sends a salutation to him in another as Bishop of Smyrna; many years after, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in France (whose writings were never yet called in question by any), not only affirms him to have been constituted Bishop of Smyrna by the apostles, but saith, "That he himself, when he was a boy, had seen him an old man;" Tertullian next, a very ancient writer, affirmeth, "That he was Bishop of Smyrna, there placed by St. John." After cometh Eusebius, who, in his "Ecclesiastical History," not only historically reporteth of his being bishop there, as he doth of other bishops, but citeth also for it the testimonies both of Ignatius and Irenæus (which, by the way, giveth good credit to Ignatius and his epistles too). Then Hierome also, and others, lastly, attest the same. And it cannot be doubted but Eusebius and Hierome had in their times the like certain testimonies and grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been bishops; which testimonies and records are not all come to our hands.

For the testimonies of Clemens and Ignatius, his Majesty saith, first, that though it be not reasonable that the testimony

of one single epistle should be so made the adequate measure of Clemens his opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his example, or otherwise, yet his Majesty, since Clemens was first named by you, and the weight of the main cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himself to that epistle. Secondly, that his Majesty could not but use some earnestness of expression in the cause of Ignatius, against some who have rejected the whole volume of his epistles, but upon such arguments as have more lessened the reputation of their own learning, than the authority of those epistles in the opinion of moderate and judicious men; and yet Blondellus, a very learned man, though he rejected those epistles, confesseth notwithstanding, the ancient Fathers gave full evidence thereunto.

“The apostles (you say) did not ordain themselves bishops of any particular places, and yet the bishops of some particular places are reported in the catalogues to have been successors to such or such of the apostles, and even the names of such apostles are entered into the catalogues.” To this his Majesty saith, that the apostles were formally bishops, by virtue of their mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themselves, nor could be ordained by others, bishops of such or such particular cities; although his Majesty knoweth not but that they might, without prejudice to their apostleship, and by mutual consent, make choice of their several quarters wherein to exercise that function, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul by consent went the one to the Circumcision, the other to the Gentiles. But such appointments did not entitle them to be properly called bishops of those places, unless any of them, by such agreement, did fixedly reside in some city, of which there is not in the history of the Church any clear unquestionable example. If that James, the Lord’s brother (who was certainly Bishop of Jerusalem), were not one of the twelve apostles, as the more general opinion is that he was not, yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater honour of their sees, and the memory of so great benefactors, enter in the head of the lists or catalogues of their bishops the names of such apostles as had either first planted the faith, or placed bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their days among them; yet doth not the true title of being successors to the apostles thereby accrue to the bishops of those places, more than to other bishops, but all bishops are equally successors to the apostles in two other respects—the one, for that they derive their ordination by a continual line of succession from the apostles; the other, for that they succeed

in the same apostolical power and function which the apostles, as ordinary pastors, had.

Your motion to reduce this whole dispute to Scripture alone were the more reasonable, if the matter in question were properly a point of faith. And yet even in points of faith (as the doctrine of the Trinity, the canon of Scripture, and sundry other) the uniform judgment of the Church had been ever held of very considerable regard; but being a matter of fact, as before was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together, but obscurely and by parts, so that the understanding thereof dependeth merely upon conjectural interpretations and uncertain probabilities, nor assure any certain distinguishing characters, whereby to discern what therein is extraordinary, what prudential, and what of necessary and perpetual obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the subsequent judgment and practice of the Christian Churches in the trial.

12. [*Reply*, sect. 29, &c.] As to the three questions proposed by his Majesty. His Majesty resteth very much unsatisfied, that you have now again wholly declined the answering of those three questions so clearly proposed by him, which yourselves also confess to be of so great importance, upon this only pretence, "that the whole volume of ecclesiastical policy is contained in them." Whereas, his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or polemical discourse concerning those questions, but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your judgment was therein, and the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, than which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgment and the satisfaction of his conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires as he expected, and in all likelihood, better satisfaction to his judgment than he yet findeth or can hope to find from you, so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those questions. For certainly, until one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his Majesty, viz., either that there is no certain form of Church government at all prescribed in the word, or if there be, that the civil power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not episcopal, but some other, his Majesty thinks himself excusable in the judgment of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to

give his consent to the utter abolishing of that government in the Church, which he found here settled to his hands; which hath continued all over the Christian world, from the times of the apostles until this last age, and in this realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before; which hath been confirmed by so many acts of parliament; approved as consonant to the holy word of God, in the articles of our religion, and by all the ministers of the Church of England, as well by their personal subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared; and which himself in his judgment and conscience hath for these many years been, and yet is persuaded to be, at least of apostolical institution and practice. Truly his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great shyness and unwillingness to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence; and for a final conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this paper), he must plainly tell you, that your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the question proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of your ingenuity in the whole undertaking, it being not probable you should work much upon his judgment, whilst you are fearful to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer in the close of your paper, and thinketh you should do very well to join therewith your utmost possible endeavours towards the settling of truth, and a happy peace in this unsettled Church and kingdom.

NOTES.

I.

The opinion here expressed with reference to the judgment and practice of the early Christians, is perhaps more strongly stated by the Royal Martyr in the following extracts from his Letters to the Presbyterian Henderson :—

“ If the practice of the primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, be not a convincing argument, when the interpretation of Scripture is doubtful, I know nothing; for if this be not, then of necessity the interpretation of private spirits must be admitted; the which contradicts St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 20)—is the mother of all sects—and will, if not prevented, bring these kingdoms into confusion.”—*Second Paper to Mr. Henderson.*

Again: "When you and I differ upon the interpretation of Scripture, and I appeal to the practice of the primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, to be a judge between us, methinks you should either find a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which, to my understanding, you have yet done; nor have you shown how, waiving those judges I appeal unto, the mischief of the interpretation by private spirits can be prevented."—*Third Paper*.

Again: "My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any authority equal to the Scriptures, yet I do think the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive Church, to be the best and most authentional interpreters of God's word, and consequently the fittest judges between me and you when we differ, until you shall find me better."—*Fifth Paper*. See "The Voice of the Church," (in which the whole Conference has been carefully reprinted from the autograph originals preserved among the Lambeth MSS.) vol. i., pp. 139-150, and 176-182.

II.

So great a change, as between presbyterial government and episcopal, could not possibly have prevailed all the world over in a little time. Had episcopal government been an aberration from (or a corruption of) the government left in the Churches by the apostles, it had been very strange that it should have been received in any one Church so suddenly, or that it should have prevailed in all for many ages after. "Variass debucrat error ecclesiarum: quod autem apud omnes unum est, non est erratum, sed traditum—had the Churches erred, they would have varied; what, therefore, is one and the same amongst all, came not surely by error, but tradition." Thus Tertullian argues very properly, from the consent of the Churches of his time, not long after the apostles, and that in matter of opinion much more subject to unobserved alteration. But that in the frame and substance of the necessary government of the Church, a thing always in use and practice, there should be so sudden a change, as presently after the apostles' times—and so universal, as received in all the Churches—this is clearly impossible. For what universal cause can be assigned or feigned of this universal apostasy? You will not imagine that the apostles, all or any of them, made any decree for this change when they were living, or left order for it in any will or testament when they were dying. This were to grant the question: to wit, that the apostles, being to leave the government of the Churches themselves, and either seeing by experience, or foreseeing by the Spirit of God, the distractions and disorders which would arise from a multitude of equals, substituted episcopal government instead of their own. General Councils, to make the law for a general change, for many ages there were none. There was no Christian emperor, no coercive power, over the Church, to force it; or if there had been any, we know no force was equal to the courage of the Christians of those times. Their lives were then at command (for they had not then learned to fight for Christ), but their obedience to anything against his law was not to be commanded (for they had perfectly learned to die for him). Therefore there was no

power then to command this change ; or if there had been any, it had been in vain. What device then shall we study, or to what fountain shall we reduce this strange pretended alteration ? Can it enter into our hearts to think that all the presbyters and other Christians then, being the apostles' scholars, could be generally ignorant of the will of Christ, touching the necessity of a presbyterial government ? Or dare we venture to think them so strangely wicked all the world over, as, against knowledge and conscience, to conspire against it ? Imagine the spirit of Diotrephes had entered into some or a great many of the presbyters, and possessed them with the ambitious desire of a forbidden superiority—was it possible they should attempt and achieve it at once, without any opposition or contradiction ? And besides, that the contagion of this ambition should spread itself, and prevail without stop or control—nay, without any noise or notice taken of it, through all the Churches in the world, all the watchmen in the mean time being so fast asleep, and all the dogs so dumb, that not so much as one should open his mouth against it ?

But let us suppose (though it be a horrible untruth) that the presbyters and people then were not so good Christians as the presbyterians are now ; that they were generally so negligent to retain the government of Christ's Church commanded by Christ, which we are now so zealous to restore ; yet certainly we must not forget nor deny, that they were men as we are. And if we look upon them as mere natural men, yet knowing by experience how hard a thing it is, even for policy armed with power, by many attempts and contrivances, and in a long time, to gain upon the liberty of any one people, undoubtedly we shall never entertain so wild an imagination, as that among all the Christian presbyters in the world, neither conscience of duty, nor love of liberty, nor averseness from pride, and usurpation of others over them, should prevail so much with any one, as to oppose this pretended universal invasion of the kingdom of Jesus Christ and the liberty of Christians.

When I shall see, therefore, all the fables in the metamorphosis acted, and prove true stories ; when I shall see all the democracies and aristocracies in the world lie down and sleep, and awake into monarchies ; then will I begin to believe that presbyterial government, having continued in the Church during the apostles' times, should presently after (against the apostles' doctrine and the will of Christ) be whirled about, like a scene in a mask, and transformed into episcopacy. In the mean time, while these things remain thus incredible, and in human reason impossible, I hope I shall have leave to conclude thus :

Episcopal government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church presently after the apostles' times.

Between the apostles' times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration.

And, therefore, there was no such alteration as is pretended. And, therefore, episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and Catholic, must be granted also to be apostolic—"Quod erat demonstrandum."—*The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy Demonstrated by William Chillingworth*, Works, vol. ii., pp. 534-537. 8vo. edit. 1820.

The above quotation carries out and strengthens King Charles's argu-

ment in the text. Mr. Russell proves ("Judgment of the Anglican Church," &c., p. 247, note) that Chillingworth (like his royal master) insisted on the value, and acknowledged the authority, of primitive Catholic tradition: and Mr. Manning has more recently called attention to the same important fact.

III.

So far back, indeed, as any genuine general records of past events exist, we may boast that our apostolical records exist. So that during these latter, which may be called the literary ages of the world, we may trace the existing record of the succession in our principal dioceses for many centuries. But this is not the kind of evidence we could speak of as so abundantly satisfactory; nor could we esteem it so, even if it reached to the apostles' days.....It would not be satisfactory for this simple, though little-thought-of reason, namely, that a succession of bishops in one see is not, and cannot ordinarily be, a succession of one and the same apostolical line. So that if, for example, we should produce a list of every Archbishop of Canterbury to the very first, who was consecrated by a French bishop, and should then add the name of every one that had preceded that French bishop in his see, up to the apostles' days, still we should not have proved the existence of any one line of apostolical descent. No single line of succession confined to a single Church is possible. Every newly ordained bishop, in every see, comes of a new line; and that a threefold line, as we shall presently notice. In addition to which, it should be borne in mind, that the succession was transmitted in many lines, even from the beginning. Endeavour to examine these points more in detail.

We learn from Eusebius that the apostles selected various parts of the world as the separate fields of their labour. And wherever there was an apostle, there was one who had the power (which he did not neglect to use) of transmitting the grace of the ministry of Christ; consequently there must have been several lines of ministerial succession from the first. Probably every apostle ordained some as "overseers," "presidents" of Churches; and so became an originator, not of one, but of several lines of apostolical grace. If each of the twelve had ordained but one, there would still have been twelve such lines apostolical; but since the indefatigable apostles doubtless did much more than this, there must have been many ministerial lines from the very first. We are putting ourselves, therefore, in a very false position, when, in arguing with the Romanists, we allow them tacitly to assume, as they seem to do, that there was but one line of apostolic ministration transmitted from the beginning. But this error will be more apparent by examining farther.

Let us endeavour to look at the case both historically and practically, that so we may see not only its past, but also its present bearings. In so doing we may be led to understand its principle more clearly. When at any time a bishopric might become vacant in the Church, and a new bishop was to be consecrated thereto, by the "laying on of hands," by whom was this solemn rite to be performed? Take, for example, a

Bishop of Antioch. He dies, and a new one is to be consecrated—who is to do it? Several, probably, unite in “laying hands on him,” with prayer and fasting. (Acts xiii. 3.) Suppose one of them to be the Bishop of Alexandria; then the next question must be, who consecrated him, and those who were his coadjutors at Antioch? And it might take us to as many different Churches to decide this point, as there were bishops at that consecration. By the laws and practice of the Church, it is necessary for three bishops, if possible, to be present and unite in the consecration of every new bishop.* Now suppose another of the three, in the case just given, to have been a Bishop of Rome; then, to trace the apostolical succession, we must proceed to ask, who consecrated that Bishop of Rome? Not the previous Bishop of Rome; for he, probably, and almost invariably, would be dead before his successor was appointed. Then, of course, it must needs be some foreign bishop, assisted by two others from different parts of Christendom. And then the question would widen still further, as each of their ordinations would have to be examined. And so the enquiry would have to proceed, widening from bishop to bishop, and from Church to Church, till we might arrive, if possible, at the first apostolic consecration of at least one of the long line through which the manifold grace had flowed. Except in the case of the translation of a bishop from one see to another (a practice unsanctioned by primitive antiquity), it would never happen that the same line of succession would at all be continued in any one Church, even during two succeeding episcopates. And even in that case it would be mingled with the succession of the two other bishops who had joined in the new consecration. Hence a succession of bishops in any one Church is not a succession of the same spiritual line of descent. Nay, if we had no more to allege than the line of the bishops of a particular Church, even though we could enumerate them quite up to the apostles, we should not have proved a valid succession, but rather the reverse; because it must have been very possible that some one, or more, of the line might have died suddenly, before the ordaining of the successor, in which case the succession would be lost, unless some other Church were applied to. It is plain that no particular Church, whether in Constantinople, Canterbury, or Rome, can pretend to possess an exclusive line of apostolic grace. It is plain that no Church can be strictly said to “derive its orders” from another. And it only evinces a want of thinking, for any man to say, for example, “that such and such a Church derives its orders from the Church of Rome.” Every one must have observed the false position in which English Churchmen have allowed themselves to be put by overlooking this simple point. They have thus admitted, practically, that the Church of Rome had a private line of apostolical succession, of which she could impart to others!—forgetting that the Bishop of Rome himself is necessarily indebted to the bishops of three other Churches for his own consecra-

* Originating probably from a literal interpretation of Matt. xviii. 20. Just as bowing at the blessed name seems derived, by Catholic and pious practice, taking literally Philippians ii. 10.

tion.* The succession is and must be Catholic, coming through all the bishops of the holy Church throughout all the world. And in this lies our security. Just as our persuasion of the genuineness of the Scriptures arose, not from our seeing the originals, or the earliest copies, but from the united testimony and criticism of Christian men; so our conviction of the validity and necessity of the succeeding ministry results from a like catholicity of testimony. Here, too, as with the Scriptures, we have unquestioned phenomena (the whole history of the Catholic world), which can only be explained by admitting the fact—the Church of Rome has no more preserved our orders than she has our Bibles. And in this fact lies our chief security, that no particular Church, in Rome or elsewhere, has the succession in its keeping, so as to be able either to keep it, or fatally corrupt it; for it is Catholic.—Irons's *Parochial Lectures*. Second edition, pp. 56-61.

We have strong reason for calling attention to the last passage of the above quotation, because a writer in a recent Protestant periodical, treating on the apostolical succession, ascribes it altogether to the Church of Rome, clearly from want of thinking on the subject.

R.

* And our false position is frequently increased by our tacitly admitting the popular antithesis between ourselves and the Continental Churches, which are taken in a mass, and called altogether, "The Church of Rome!" Thus we practically overlook the fact, that the Church of Rome is one particular Italian Church, and so increase our own apparent difficulty.

INTRODUCTION.

THE struggle which had been going on for a hundred years, between what may be called, for distinction's sake, the Genevan and the more peculiarly English portion of our Church, came to a formal, though unhappily not a real, termination at the revision of the Liturgy in 1662. To the Prayer-book, as then revised, every clergyman at this day sets his hand. It is interesting, doubtless, to know that at former times, by God's mercy, the Church, in manifold temptations and trials, had ever had that within her which resisted every attempt to force on her, as a Church, any novelties of doctrine, or any essential changes of primitive discipline. But it is more vitally important to us to mark this last change or settlement—that to which we ourselves, as yet, stand pledged—to see in what direction the Church now moved; whether it was towards the doctrine of the Continental Reformers, or towards the ancient Church. This, of course, is a question of fact, whether the now revised Liturgy was an advance towards modern views and principles (as King Edward's second book confessedly was), or a falling back on the doctrine of a pure antiquity (as was the Elizabethan revision)?

But, perhaps, it may be thought a superfluous labour to show what no one probably will dispute, viz., that the revision in 1662 was not a concession to Puritanism. All that will be affirmed respecting it is, that the previous latitude of expression in the various parts of our formularies was still allowed to exist; and, consequently, that the disputed words and phrases, here and there, were still intended to be so far ambiguous that they might be charitably comprehensive, as they had formerly been. And here it must surely be conceded, that if the Church allowed the old debated portions of her offices to remain wholly unaltered, either party within her pale might have pretended to a triumph, on the ground that the alterations were not made so as to exclude its own adherents, notwithstanding all the past inconveniences arising from a doubtfully worded Liturgy. We say, putting the case, supposing the Church to have done nothing, but to have insisted on the Prayer-book remaining just as it was, the Presbyterians might have urged, "If the Church wished to exclude us, this was her opportunity; she had only to affirm that the terms or practices, which we objected to as unintentional

on her part, were not unintentional—that what we excepted against, as accidental relics of corrupt ages, were not accidental, but her real meaning; and forthwith we should have acknowledged the Church to be against us. Her total silence proves that she is for us.” While, at the same time, the followers of the ancient faith might have said, “We have not clamoured for change; we have not said, our Prayer-book is faultless; but we are content that it remain now as it is. And herein we hold the same judgment as the Church holds.” And so both parties might possibly have gone on honestly believing, to a certain extent at least, that the Church’s voice was with them. And even a fair-minded controversialist, however much regretting the fact and questioning the wisdom of the Church’s neutral course, must have owned that there was room, at all events, for the revival of the disputes that had arisen in preceding times. Henceforth the Church herself must take the blame of dissensions, because she might, at least, have hinted which way her judgment tended. Under the patent of the Church’s indecision, licensed wranglers might now come forth from the opposing schools of English theology.

But how, be it now asked, does all this agree with the facts of the case? Granting that our Liturgy continued to be, in the main, what it had been, are there no indications of the Church’s intention in so ordering it? To go no further, is it nothing that the very large demands on the one side were positively refused, and that the contented acquiescence on the other side was most fully received and adopted? And is it not a fact, which should have all weight in a question where the Church’s voice is considered, that the confirmation of the Liturgy in 1662 was more explicitly and freely the Church’s own act (apart from the pressure of the State) than any previous settlement of it had yet been? That King Charles II. left the Convocation much more free to act than James, or Elizabeth, or Henry had done? Surely the “facts of the case” ought not to be wholly forgotten; for these facts supply a most important commentary on the Prayer-book. They will show us, if we are attentive thereto, not what certain words or certain rubrics may mean, but what the Church actually did mean by them, when she last declared her meaning.

For example: the rubrics in the communion service, as well as in other services, frequently direct where and how the priest shall stand or kneel in divine service. At one time, to turn to the “people;” at another, to “stand at the north side of the table;” at another, to “stand before the table;” and again, when praying “in the name” of the people, “to kneel down at” the Lord’s table. Now it is very certain that the wording of all

these rubrical directions is such, that they may be interpreted so as to admit of the practice of those ministers who dislike turning their backs to the people. The mere force of the words of the rubric will not oblige a clergyman, for example, to turn from the people in such a way as to give the idea of his being engaged in any priestly act during any portion of divine service; and so, if any clergyman conscientiously objects to turn from the people, thinking it improper to do so, he might bring himself to think, perhaps, that the direction to stand "before the table" in consecrating the eucharist, might be sufficiently complied with by his standing sideways at the north. The mere words of the rubric, at all events, would not oblige him to keep to the ancient and convenient practice of standing and consecrating "before" the altar; and it would not weigh much with such an one to be told that the "custom of the Churches of God" (and even of his own Church, in her best days) is in opposition to their modern innovation of turning to the people (for it is nearly that with some) in consecration. The Church having left the rubric as it is (not express), he would think that he had a liberty left him to interpret it after his own conscience, and might, perhaps, defy us to prove that he was not strictly "rubrical." But surely the case is altogether changed, when we tell him that at the last revision, when the rubrics were left us as they now are, they were thought to favour the ancient practice so much, that those who objected to that practice petitioned for an alteration of the rubric, on the ground that it is fit and convenient "always to turn to the people" during divine service; and that the bishops* of the Church then justified the position, that it is convenient to "turn another way," when the priest is acting for the people in "things that pertain to God." Surely the retention of the rubrics, under such circumstances, by the decision of Convocation, is quite enough to fix their meaning to us.

Or, again, to take another example. How frequently in our times has the question been raised as to the right of persons who have only received Dissenting baptism, to the administration of the funeral and other offices of the Church. The authority of the Church is claimed for opinions on both sides. The advocates of what is thought the more liberal opinion have frequently thought it necessary to go into the question of the validity of lay baptism (taking it for granted that the Dissenters who baptize are Christian laymen, which cannot be taken for granted by the blindest charity); and then they say, that all that the Church requires is a "lawful" minister: and the an-

* See Tract XIV.

cient Church, to a very great extent, at one time, thought any Christian, "in case of necessity," a "lawful" minister of baptism—and our own Church often appeals to primitive antiquity. And then our kindly feelings are appealed to, and, lastly, our legal fears, and Sir John Nichol's celebrated decision, which is quoted as solemnly as if that mistaken judge had embodied in himself the rights and powers of the whole Church. Unfortunately, such persons do not know that all this is beside the mark. The fact is, that there can be no dispute about the matter. Probably our Church has pronounced no doctrinal judgment respecting lay baptism; but her practice has never been doubtful since the Restoration. Her practical decision, in 1662, furnishes us with our practical rule of action, whatever our opinions may be. The practice of lay baptism, in cases of necessity, was one of the formal objections laid before the bishops at the Savoy Conference, and in their answer they expressly remedy the grievance complained of, by saying, it is now provided that baptism be given by a "lawful minister." No one can doubt what they meant, or what, indeed, in such circumstances, must have been meant by those words—the occasion fixes their meaning to us.

To throw light on these and similar points, to manifest the voice of the Church at the last revision of her Prayer-book, the Tracts which compose the present Part are put forth. Cosin, Sparrow, Sanderson, and the bishops of the Savoy Conference—these are the witnesses adduced of the Church's tone in those days. If better representatives of our Church are to be found, we can only say we know them not. Not only are the three we have named more widely known in the Church of Christ than any of their brethren their contemporaries, but their connection with the English Church is more emphatical. The work of Sparrow is in the hands of every one; Cosin was appointed by Convocation to superintend the Prayer-book in its progress through the press; and to Sanderson is attributed, among other alterations then made, the introduction, and probably the composition, of the "General Thanksgiving" in the daily service.

I.

OXFORD,

Feast of St. Bartholomew.

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE EPISCOPATE

NOT PREJUDICIAL TO THE SUPREME AUTHORITY OF
THE CIVIL RULER.

BY THE MOST REV. ROBERT SANDERSON, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, was one of the chief of our divines, and a moderator, at the Savoy Conference. He also took a leading part in the Convocation next following, in which the Prayer-book received its final revision. The preface of it is said to have been written by him: and we owe to him the General Thanksgiving in our daily service. The work whence the subsequent Tract is taken was written by the command of the royal martyr, and published (with a dedication to King Charles II.) at the Restoration.

CAMBRIDGE—*Feast of the Resurrection.*

R.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—The following pages were composed in answer to an objection which is thus stated by Dr. Sanderson:—

Whereas in the oath of supremacy the supreme power ecclesiastical is acknowledged to be in the king alone; and by the statute of 1 Eliz. all jurisdictions and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, within the realm of England, are restored to the crown, as the ancient right thereof, and for ever united and annexed thereunto: the bishops claiming their power and jurisdiction to belong unto them by divine right, seemeth to be a manifest violation of the said oath and statute, and a real diminution of the regal power in and by the said statute acknowledged and confirmed. For whatsoever power is of divine right is immediately derived from God, and dependeth not upon any earthly king or potentate whatsoever as superior thereunto. These two terms, to be from heaven, and to be of men, being used in Scripture as terms opposite and inconsistent, and such as cannot be both truly affirmed of the same thing.]

I. WHEREUNTO I make answer as followeth—I say, first,

that it [the objection above cited] is evidently of no force at all against those divines who, for the maintenance of episcopacy, lay their claim under another notion, and not under that of *jus divinum*, which expression, for that it is (by reason of the ambiguity thereof) subject to be mistaken, and that captious men are so willing to mistake it for their own advantage, might peradventure, without loss of truth, or prejudice to the cause, be with as much prudence laid aside, as used, as in this, so in sundry other disputes and controversies of these times.

II. If it shall be replied that then belike the proctors of episcopacy are not yet well agreed among themselves by what title they hold: and that is a shrewd prejudice against them, that they have no good title. For it is ever supposed he that hath a good title knoweth what it is, and we are to presume the power to be usurped, when he that useth it cannot well tell how he came by it. I say, therefore, secondly, that the difference between the advocates for episcopacy is rather in the different manner of expressing the same thing, than in their different judgment upon the substance of the matter: the one sort making choice of an expression which he knoweth he is able to make good against all gainsayers, if they will but understand him aright; the other, out of wariness or condescension, forbearing an expression (no necessity requiring the use of it) which he seeth to have been subject to so much misconstruction.

III. For the truth is, all this ado about *jus divinum*, is in the last result no more than a mere verbal nicety, that term being not always taken in one and the same latitude of signification. Sometimes it importeth a divine precept (which is, indeed, the plenary and most proper signification), when it appeareth by some clear, express, and peremptory command of God in his word, to be the will of God that the thing so commanded should be perpetually and universally observed. Of which sort, setting aside the articles of the creed and the moral duties of the law (which are not much pertinent to the present enquiry), there are, as I take it, very few things that can be said to be of divine positive right under the New Testament. The preaching of the Gospel, and administration of the sacraments, are two; which when I have named, I think I have named all.

IV. But there is a secondary and more extended signification of that term, which is also of frequent use among divines. In which sense such things, as having no express command in the word, yet are found to have authority and warrant from the institution, example, and approbation either of Christ himself, or his apostles; and have (in regard of the importance and

usefulness of the things themselves) been held, by the consentient judgment of all the Churches of Christ in the primitive and succeeding ages, needful to be continued; such things, I say, are (though not so properly as the former, yet), usually and interpretative, said to be of divine right. Of which sort I take the observation of the Lord's-day, the ordering of the keys, the distinction of presbyters and deacons, and some other things (not all perhaps of equal consequence) to be. Unto *jus divinum*, in that former acceptation, is required a divine precept: in this latter, it sufficeth thereunto that a thing be of apostolical institution or practice. Which ambiguity is the more to be heeded, for that the observation thereof is of great use for the avoiding of sundry mistakes that, through the ignorance or neglect thereof, daily happen to the engaging of men in endless disputes, and entangling their consciences in unnecessary scruples.

V. Now that the government of the Churches of Christ by bishops is of divine right, in that first and stricter sense, is an opinion, at least, of great probability, and such as may more easily and upon better grounds be defended,* than confuted: especially if, in expounding those texts that are alleged for it, we give such deference to the authority of the ancient Fathers, and their expositions thereof, as wise and sober men have always thought it fit we should do?† Yet because it is both inexpedient to maintain a dispute where it needs not, and needless to contend for more where less will serve the turn, I find that our divines that have travailed most in this argument, where they purposely treat of it, do rather choose to stand to the tenure of episcopacy *ex apostolicâ designatione* than to hold a contest upon the title of *jus divinum*, no necessity requiring the same to be done. They, therefore, that so speak of this government as established by divine right, are not all of them necessarily so to be understood as if they meant it in that first and strictest sense. Sufficient it is for the justification of the Church of England, in the constitution and government thereof, that it is (as certainly it is) of divine right in the latter and larger signification—that is to say, of apostolical institution and approbation, exercised

* Be it observed that, in this Tract, Bishop Sanderson is not urging all that he deemed true respecting spiritual powers in the Church (see the Postscript), but refraining from asserting his principles to the fullest extent; he is here, by an *argumentum ad hominem*, replying to the objection of some, "that bishops were hostile to royal power."—*Vide infra* (p. 308), where it is shown that the objection is contrary to fact.

† See Note I.

by the apostles themselves, and by other persons in their times appointed and enabled thereunto by them, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the commission they had received from him.

VI. Which besides that it is clear from evident texts of Scripture, and from the testimony of as ancient and authentic records as the world liath any to show for the attesting of any other part of ecclesiastical story, it is also in truth a part of the established doctrine of the Church of England, evidently deduced out of sundry passages in the Book of Consecration (which book is approved in the Articles of Religion, Art. xxxvi., confirmed by Act of Parliament, and subscribed unto by all persons that have heretofore taken orders in the Church, or degrees in the University) ; and hath been constantly and uniformly maintained by our best writers, and by all the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of this Church. The point hath been so abundantly proved by sundry learned men, and cleared from the exceptions of novelists [innovators], that more need not be said for the satisfaction of any intelligent man that will but first take the pains to read the books, and then suffer himself to be master of his own reason.

VII. Only I could wish that they who plead so eagerly for the *jus divinum* of the Lord's-day, and yet reject (not without some scorn) the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, would ask their own hearts (dealing impartially therein) whether it be any apparent difference in the nature of the things themselves, or in the strength of those reasons that have been brought for either, that leadeth them to have such different judgments thereof, or rather some prejudicate conceit of their own, which having formerly fancied to themselves even as they stood affected to parties, the same affections still abiding, they cannot easily lay aside. Which partiality (for I am loathe to call it perverseness) of spirit is by so much the more inexcusable in this particular, by how much episcopal government seemeth to be grounded upon Scripture texts of greater pregnancy and clearness, and attested by a fuller consent of antiquity to have been uniformly and universally observed throughout the Christian world than the Lord's-day hath hitherto been shown to be.

VIII. But should it be granted that all the defenders of episcopacy did indeed hold it to be *jure divino* in the strictest and most proper sense, yet could not the objectors thence reasonably conclude that it should be, *eo nomine*, inconsistent with the regal power, or so much as derogatory in the least degree to that supreme power ecclesiastical, which, by the laws of our

land is established, and by the doctrine of our Church acknowledged to be inherent in the Church; as themselves may easily see, if they will but consider.

IX. First—That regal and episcopal power are two powers of quite different kinds, and such as, considered purely in those things that are proper and essential to either, have no mutual relation to or dependence upon each other. Neither hath either of them anything to do with the other: the one of them being purely spiritual and internal—the other, external and temporal. Albeit, in regard of the persons that are to exercise them, or some accidental circumstances appertaining to the exercise thereof, it may happen the one to be someways helpful or prejudicial to the other; yet is there no necessity at all that the very powers themselves, in respect that their own natures, should be (at a distance) either of them so destructive to other, but that they might consist well enough together. Yea, although either of them or both should claim (as indeed they both may do) to be of divine right, independently upon the other—let any man come up to the point, and show, if he can, how and wherein the episcopal power is anything at all diminished by affirming the regal to be of divine right? or how and wherefore the regal power is at all prejudiced by affirming the episcopal to be of divine right? The opposition between those two terms, *to be from heaven*, and *to be of men*, which was objected, cometh not home enough, unless we should affirm them both of one and the same power in the same respect. Which since we do not, that opposition hindereth not but that the same power may be said to be of both in divers respects, viz., to be from heaven, or of God, in respect of the substance of the thing in general; and yet to be of men, in respect of the determination of sundry particularities, requisite unto the lawful and laudable exercise thereof.

X. Secondly—That the derivation of any power from God doth not necessarily infer the non-subjection of the persons in whom that power resideth to all other men. For, doubtless, the power that fathers have over their children, husbands over their wives, masters over their servants, is from heaven—of God, and not of men. Yet are parents, husbands, masters, in the exercise of their several respective powers, subject to the power, jurisdiction, and laws of their lawful sovereigns. And I suppose it would be a very hard matter for any man to find out a clear and satisfactory reason of difference between the ecclesiastical power and the economical; why the one, because it claimeth to be of divine right, should be therefore thought to be injurious to

regal power; and the other (though claiming in the same manner) not to be injurious.

XI. Thirdly—The ministerial power, in that which is common to bishops with their fellow-presbyters, viz., the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments, &c., is confessed to be from heaven and of God, and yet no prejudice at all conceived to be done thereby to the regal power, because the ministers who exercise that power are the king's subjects, and are also, in the executing of those very acts that are proper to their ministerial functions, to be limited and ordered by the ecclesiastical laws. A man might therefore justly wonder (but that is no new thing to find in the bag of such merchants as we have now to deal with, *pondus et pondas*) how it should come to pass that the episcopal power in that which is peculiar to bishops above other their brethren in the ministry, viz., the ordaining of priests and deacons, and managing of the keys, cannot be said to be of God, but it must be forthwith condemned to be highly derogatory to the regal power, notwithstanding the bishops acknowledge themselves, as freely as any others whatsoever, to be the king's subjects, and submit themselves with as much willingness (I dare say, and some Presbyterians know I speak the truth) as the meanest of their fellow-ministers do, to be limited in exercising the proper acts of their episcopal functions by such laws as have been by regal power established in this realm. The king doth no more challenge to himself, as belonging to him by virtue of his supremacy ecclesiastical, the power of ordaining ministers, excommunicating scandalous offenders, or doing any other act of episcopal office in his own person, than he doth the power of preaching, administering the sacraments, or doing any other act of ministerial office in his own person; but leaving the performance of all such acts of either sort unto such persons as the said several respective powers do of divine right belong unto, viz., of the one sort to the bishop, and of the other to all priests; yet doth the king, by virtue of that supremacy, challenge a power, as belonging unto him in the right of his crown,* to make laws, as well concerning preaching, administering the sacraments, and other acts belonging to the function of a priest, as concerning ordination of ministers, proceedings in matters of ecclesiastical cognizance in the spiritual courts, and other acts belonging to the function of a bishop. To which laws, as well the priests as

* Not arbitrarily, of course, but by consent of the Church, expressed in synod or parliament. See the Appendix to this Number.

the bishops are subject, and ought to submit to be limited and regulated thereby, in the exercise of those their several respective powers; their claim to a *jus divinum*, and that their said several powers are of God, notwithstanding. I demand, then, as to the regal power, is not the case of the bishops and the ministers everyway alike? Do they not both pretend [claim] their powers to be of God? And are they not yet for all that both bound, in the exercise of both those powers, to obey the king and his laws? Is there not clearly the same reason of both? How then cometh it to pass, that these are pronounced innocent, and those guilty? Can any think God will wink at such foul partiality? Or account them pure with the bag of deceitful weights?

XII. Fourthly—That there can be no fear of any danger to arise to the prejudice of the regal power, from the opinion that bishops are *jure divino*, unless that opinion should be stretched to one of these two constructions, viz., as if it were intended either:—1. That all the power which the bishops have legally exercised in Christian kingdoms did belong to them as of divine right; or 2. That bishops, living under Christian kings, might at least exercise so much of their power as is of divine right after their own pleasure, without, or even against, the king's leave, or without respect to the laws and customs of the realm. Neither of which is any part of our meaning. All power, to the exercise whereof our bishops have pretended, cometh under one of the two heads, of *order* or of *jurisdiction*. The power of order consisteth partly in preaching the word, and other offices of public worship, common to them with their fellow-ministers; partly in ordaining priests and deacons, admitting them to their particular cures, and other things of like nature peculiar to them alone. The power of jurisdiction is either internal in retaining and remitting sins* *in foro conscientie*, common to them also (for the substance of the authority, though with some difference of degree) with other ministers; or external for the outward government of the Church in some parts thereof peculiar to them alone. For that external power is either directive in prescribing rules and orders to those under their jurisdictions, and making canons and constitutions to be observed by the Church, wherein the inferior clergy, by their representatives in convocation, have their votes,† as well as the bishops: and both dependently upon the king (for they cannot either meet without

* See Note II.

† The good bishop, it is plain, did not contemplate any such systematic suppression of convocation as now stifles the legitimate voice of the Church.

his writ, or treat without his commission, or establish without his royal assent), or judiciary and coercive, in giving sentence *in foro exteriori* in matters of ecclesiastical cognizance, excommunicating, fining, imprisoning offenders, and the like. Of these powers some branches—not only in the exercise thereof, but even in the very substance of the power itself (as, namely, that of external jurisdiction coercive)—are by the laws declared, and by the clergy acknowledged, to be wholly and entirely derived from the king, as the sole fountain of all authority of external jurisdiction, whether spiritual or temporal, within the realm; and consequently not of divine right. Othersome, although the substance of the power itself be immediately from God, and not from the king, as those of preaching, ordaining, absolving, &c.; yet are they so subject to be inhibited, limited, or otherwise regulated, in the outward exercise of that power, by the laws and customs of the land, as that the whole execution thereof still dependeth upon the regal authority. And how can the gross of that power be prejudicial to the king or his supremacy, whereof all the parts are confessed either to be derived from him, or [in point of fact] not to be executed without him?

XIII. Fifthly*—That if episcopacy must be therefore concluded to be repugnant to monarchy, because it claimeth to be of divine right, then must monarchs either suffer within their dominions no form of Church government at all (and then will Church, and with it religion, soon fall to the ground), or else they must devise some new model of government, such as never was yet used or challenged in any part of the Christian world; since no form of government ever yet used or challenged, but hath claimed to be a *jus divinum* as well as episcopacy. Yea, I may say truly, every one of them with far more noise, though with far less reason, than episcopacy hath done. And, therefore, of what party soever the objectors are (Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents), they show themselves extremely partial against the honest regular Protestant, in condemning him as an enemy to regal power for holding that in his way, which (if it be justly chargeable with such a crime) themselves, holding the very same in their several ways, are every whit as guilty of as he.

XIV Lastly†—That this their partiality is by so much the more inexcusable, by how much the true English Protestant for his government not only hath a better title to a *jus divinum* than any of the other three have for theirs, but also pleadeth the same with more caution and modesty than any of them do.

* The *argumentum ad hominem*, more strongly.

† Again the *argumentum ad hominem*.

Which of the four pretenders hath the best title, is no part of the business we are about. The trial of that will rest upon the strength of the arguments that are brought to maintain it: wherein the Presbyterians perhaps will not find any great advantage beyond the rest of those who contest for it. But let the right be where it will be, we will for the present suppose them all to have equal title (and thus far, indeed, they are equal, that every one taketh his own to be the best), and it shall suffice to show that the *jus divinum* is pleaded by the episcopal party with more calmness and moderation, and with less derogation from real dignity, than by any other of the three.

XV. For, first, the rest, when they speak of *jus divinum*, in reference to their several ways of Church government, take it in the highest elevation and the first and strictest sense. The Papist groundeth the Pope's œcumenical supremacy upon Christ's command to [S.] Peter to execute it, and to all the flock of Christ (princes as well as others) to submit to him as their universal pastor. The Presbyterian crieth up his model of government and discipline (though minted in the last bygone century) as the very sceptre of Christ's kingdom, whereunto all kings are bound to submit theirs; making it as unalterable and inevitably necessary to the being of a Church as the word and sacraments are. The Independent separatist, also, upon the grand principle of Puritanism, common to him with the Presbyterian (the very root of almost all the sects in the world), viz., that nothing is to be ordered in Church matters other or otherwise than Christ hath appointed in his word, holdeth that any company of people gathered together by mutual consent in a Church-way is *jure divino* free and absolute within itself, to govern itself by such rules as it shall judge agreeable to God's word, without dependence upon any but Christ Jesus alone, or subjection to any prince, prelate, or other human person or consistory whatsoever. All these you see do not only claim a *jus divinum*, and that of a very high nature; but, in setting down their opinions, weave in some expressions tending to the diminution of the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Whereas the episcopal party neither meddle with the power of princes, nor are ordinarily very forward to press the *jus divinum*, but rather purposely decline the mentioning of it, as a term subject to misconstruction (as hath been said), or else so interpret it, as not of necessity to import any more than an apostolical institution. Yet the apostles' authority in that institution, being warranted by the example and (as they doubt not) the direction of their Master, Jesus Christ, they worthily esteem to be so reverend and obligatory, as that they would not for a world have any hand in, or

willingly and deliberately contribute the least assistance towards (much less bind themselves by solemn league and covenant to endeavour), the extirpation of that government; but rather, on the contrary, hold themselves in their consciences obliged, to the uttermost of their powers, to endeavour the preservation and continuance thereof in these Churches, and do heartily wish the restitution and establishment of the same, wheresoever it is not, or wheresoever it hath been heretofore (under any whatsoever pretence), unhappily laid aside or abolished.

XVI. Secondly—The rest, not by remote inferences, but by immediate and natural deduction out of their own acknowledged principles, do some way or other deny the king's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical—either claiming a power of jurisdiction over him, or pleading a privilege of exemption from under him. The Papists do it both ways, in their several doctrines of the Pope's supremacy, and of the exemption of the clergy. The Puritans, of both sorts, who think they have sufficiently confuted everything they have a mind to mislike, if they have once pronounced it Popish and anti-christian, do yet herein (as in very many other things, and some of them of the most dangerous consequence) symbolize with the Papists, and, after a sort, divide that branch of anti-christianism wholly between them; the Presbyterians claiming to their consistories as full and absolute spiritual jurisdiction over princes (with power even to excommunicate them, if they shall see cause for it), as the Papists challenge to belong to the Pope; and the Independents exempting their congregations from all spiritual subjection to them, in as ample manner as the Papists do their clergy. Whereas the English Protestant bishops and regular clergy, as becometh good subjects, do neither pretend to any jurisdiction over the kings of England [*i. e.*, not over their persons in an external way], nor withdraw their subjection from them, but acknowledge them to have sovereign power over them, as well as over their other subjects, and that in all matters,* ecclesiastical as well as temporal. By all which it is clear that the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, as it is maintained by those they call (*stylo novo*) the prelatical party in England, is not an opinion of so dangerous a nature, nor so derogatory to the regal powers, as the adversaries thereof would make the world believe it is; but that rather, of all the forms of Church government that ever yet were endeavoured to be brought into the Churches of Christ, it is the most innocent in that behalf.

* Of external jurisdiction.

POSTSCRIPT.

Whereas in my answer, in the foregoing treatise, I have not anywhere made any clear discovery what my own particular judgment is concerning the *jus divinum* of episcopacy in the strictest sense, either in the affirmative or negative, and, for want of so doing, may perhaps be censured by some to have walked but haltingly, or, at leastwise, with more caution and mincing than became me to do in a business of that nature, I do hereby declare—

1. That, to avoid the starting of more questions than needs must, I then thought it fitter (and am of the same opinion still) to decline that question, than to determine it either way, such determination being clearly of no moment at all to my purpose, and for the solving of that objection.

2. That, nevertheless (leaving other men to the liberty of their own judgments), my opinion is, that episcopal government is not to be derived merely from apostolic practice or institution, but that it is originally founded in the person and office of the Messiah, our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who, being sent by his heavenly Father to be the great apostle (Heb. iii. 1), bishop, and pastor (1 Pet. ii. 25) of his Church, and anointed to that office immediately after his baptism by [S.] John, with power and the Holy Ghost (Acts x. 37, 38), descending then upon him in a bodily shape (Luke iii. 22), did afterwards, before his ascension into heaven, send and empower his holy apostles (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise as his Father had given him), in like manner as his Father had before sent him (John xx. 21), to execute the same apostolical, episcopal, and pastoral office for the ordering and governing of his Church until his coming again, and so the same office to continue in them and their successors, until the end of the world (Matt. xxviii. 18, 20). This I take to be so clear, from these and other like texts of Scripture, that if they shall be diligently compared together, both between themselves and with the following practice of all the Churches of Christ, as well in the apostles' times as in the purest and primitive times nearest thereunto, there will be left a little cause why any man should doubt thereof.

NOTES.

I.

Sanderson, like his great predecessors and contemporaries, paid due deference to the authority of the Catholic Church. Thus, in his Sermon on 1 Tim. iii. 16, after observing that holy Scripture is that *lapis lydius*, that test whereby doctrines are to be tried, adds—

“But sith all sectaries pretend to Scripture—Papists, Anabaptists, Disciplinarians, all, yea the devil himself, can vouch texts to drive on a temptation—it were good therefore we knew how to make right applications of Scripture for the trial of doctrines, that we do not mistake a false one for a true one. Many profitable rules for this purpose our apostle affordeth us in sundry places. One very good one we may gather from the words immediately before the text, wherein the Church of God is said to be the pillar and ground of truth. The collection thence is obvious, that it would very much conduce to the guiding of our judgments aright, in the examination of men’s doctrines concerning either faith or manners, wherein the letter of Scripture is obscure, or the meaning doubtful, to inform ourselves as well as we can, *in credendis*, what the received sense, and, *in agendis*, what the constant usage and practice of the Church (especially in the ancient times) hath been concerning those matters, and that to consider what conformity the doctrines under trial hold with the principles upon which that their sense or practice in the premises was grounded. The judgment and practice of the Church ought to sway very much with every sober and wise man; either of which, whosoever neglecteth or but slighteth (as too many do, upon a very poor pretence, that the mystery of iniquity began to work betimes), runneth a great hazard of falling into many errors and absurdities. If he do not, he may thank his good fortune more than his forecast: and if he do, he may thank none but himself for neglecting so good a guide.”—*Twenty-one Sermons*, pp. 488, 489. Fol. 1686.

II.

The opinion of Bishop Sanderson, respecting the nature and value of sacerdotal absolution, may be best gathered from his practice. Izaak Walton relates that, “After taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullen, to give him absolution, and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullen might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be more at ease, and his mind more cheerful.”—*Life prefixed to Sanderson’s Thirty-six Sermons*, p. 49. Fol. 1689.

It may here be observed further, that the bishop strongly maintained the grace of the two great sacraments of the new law—baptism and the holy eucharist. Speaking of the fraternity of Christians in the communion of saints, he observes: “We are brethren by propagation; and that *ab utroque parente ὁμογάστροι* as well as ὁμοπάτριοι, children of

the one eternal God, the common Father of us all, and of the one Catholic Church, the common mother of us all. And we have all the same elder brother, Jesus Christ, the 'first-born among many brethren,' the lively image of his Father's person, and indeed the fountain of the whole brotherhood: for we are all (as many of us as have been baptized into Christ) the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus."—*Twenty-one Sermons*, p. 396.

Again: "It will be no hard business for us to pronounce determinately (applying) the sentence even to particular persons, who are to be esteemed the children of light: even all those that, by outwardly professing the name and faith of Christ, are within the pale of the visible Church of Christ. The holy apostle so pronounceth of them all (1 Thess. v.), 'Ye are all the children of light and of the day:' and (Eph. v.), 'Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord.' Our very baptism entitled us hereunto, which is the sacrament of our initiation whereby we put on Christ, and are made members of Christ, and children of God. Whence it is that, in the Greek Fathers, baptism is usually called φωτισμός—that is, an enlightening, and persons newly baptized νεοφώτιστοι."—*Ibid*, p. 570.

In regard to the holy eucharist, Sanderson (according to his biographer) expressed himself as follows: "The blessed sacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their vows, since they received that last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and also to examine and research their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings, and that done to bewail them seriously, and then make new vows or resolutions to obey all God's commands better, and beg his grace to perform them. And that this being faithfully done, then the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg, makes us still hunger and thirst for his righteousness which we then receive, and, being assisted with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our last sickness."—*Life*, p. 37.

R.

APPENDIX II.

The attention of the English Church has of late been specially directed to the subject of episcopal jurisdiction; and vitally important it is, that in the present solemn crisis we should well understand the nature and extent of the bishop's power as governor. His power as priest—as high priest of the Christian altar—is one thing; his power as ruler of the existing flock of Christ on earth, is another. Nevertheless his essential functions as priest or minister of the Church, and his essential functions as chief ruler of the whole body, lay* and clerical, are alike spiritual. If we would avoid Popery, and equally avoid Erastianism, we must clearly understand and insist on this. And in briefly attempting to develop this high truth, we think we shall be illustrating the teaching of the Bishop of Lincoln in the foregoing Tract.

1. Be it observed, then, that we are not here speaking of any legal power, or any constitutional privilege of our English episcopal bench, or of the actually-possessed power of the bishops of the Church Catholic in any country of Christendom. We are speaking of what we say is the power of jurisdiction, or “ruling” the Church, inherent in the bishop as such—and this we say is spiritual, and only spiritual—whether in its origin or nature, its exercise or its consequences. And if, on the ground of scriptural warrant and catholic primitive belief, this be admitted (as surely it cannot be denied), then it will follow that the right of external coercion (if it exist) can only be derived from the civil government. Courts of ecclesiastical law, then, are inventions of men, to serve (as it is supposed) the cause of Christ; and the existence of such courts in a Christian land is by no means dependent on the bishop's spiritual power. The civil ruler gives all the lawful power possessed by ecclesiastical

* It is singular to observe the satisfaction with which some of the laity regard any proposals for “stricter discipline of the clergy,” little reflecting that lax laymen are also scandals to the Church; and that the lawful exercise of the bishop's power would restrain them in their unchristian lives as fitly as it would their “spiritual pastors and masters” in their unclerical lives.

courts; for Christ left no power to his Church, either to hold "courts," or inflict temporal penalties on the persons or estates of offending Christians. The strictest anathema of the Church—the extreme scriptural excommunication can only extend, in this world, to prohibition of the communion of the faith and mysteries of the house of the Lord; unless it should please our Almighty Ruler to revive the miraculous gifts of grace in his decaying Church.

2. But, in thus saying, let it not be thought that we derogate aught from their prerogatives to whom Christ committed "the keys of the kingdom of heaven:" of whom St. Paul said, "Obey them that rule;" and one of whom in an earlier day (even that same apostle) committed a sinful Christian unto Satan, "for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord." Surely it is the only way to obtain a true view of the Church's powers delivered from heaven, to look at them separately and calmly, apart from all earthly adjuncts, whether of kings or parliaments: so when the "laws ecclesiastical," which human authorities have given us, are abrogated and set aside by that same authority, we may hope to recognize still untouched the inherent spiritual claims of the apostolic body on the obedience of all its members.

The power of jurisdiction (in its full and essential character) is implied in the statement of the Church's "authority" in the 20th Article. Spiritual authority in the head, implies spiritual obedience in all the members—or spiritual power in reserve to inflict spiritual censures, and perhaps spiritual condemnation (Matt. xviii. 18). But the idea of "handing over to the civil power" those whom the Church has condemned spiritually, is a cruel artifice of the Court and Church of Rome. But it is worth while to remark, that even the Romanists have adhered, in theory, to a true principle—the mere spirituality of Church powers—while horribly distorting it by the ingenious artifice of persecution now alluded to. And, after all, we might do well to ask ourselves, whether, in "handing over heretics to the civil power," while piously protesting that Church power is only spiritual, the Church of Rome is doing more than carry out (to extremes certainly) a principle sanctioned by us, and every Christian community which allows courts ecclesiastical to receive their sanction and authority from the State at all.

Does not a legal sanction and support imply legal penalties, if necessary? Or, otherwise, have we not the unseemly anomaly of a law powerless, and wholly inadequate for the objects which it professes to establish? But it will be said this is Popery! Let us not be misunderstood. We are not arguing for perse-

cution: God forbid. We are only pointing out the fair results of a certain modern way of thinking. We would have it ever borne in mind that the "alliance" of Church and State (as for want of a better phrase we are accustomed to express it) is not an union of them, nor an amalgamation of their functions and powers.—(See the last Appendix, p. 186).

In all spiritual matters, the civil governor, be it ever remembered, is the subject of the bishop—the child of the Church—if he has been baptized into the Christian Church. The monarch in his royal closet must kneel in the Church and say the same words, and receive absolution through the same priest, as the beggar in the aisles. To deny this (and the principles implied in it) is Erastianism.

I.

OXFORD,
The Feast of St. Mark.

THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE AND AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND ROME.

BY THE RIGHT REV. JOHN COSIN, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following scarce Tract was written by Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and given by him to the then Countess of Peterborough. It is now republished from the "Appendix" to the "Letters" of Dr. Hickes, who printed it in 1705 from the original MS. Cosin was one of the chief prelates engaged in the Savoy conference, and a goodly pillar of the English Church.

R.

CAMBRIDGE—*Feast of St. Mark.*

The differences in the chief points of religion between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England, together with the agreements which we for our parts profess and are ready to embrace, if they for theirs were as ready to accord with us in the same.

THE DIFFERENCES.

WE that profess the Catholic faith and religion in the Church of England do not agree with the Roman Catholics in anything whereunto they now endeavour to convert us. But we totally dissent from them (as they do from the ancient Catholic Church) in these points:—

1. That the Church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all other Churches in the world.
2. That the Pope of Rome is the vicar-general of Christ; or that he hath an universal jurisdiction over all Christians that shall be saved.
3. That either the Synod of Trent was a general council; or that all the canons thereof are to be received as matters of Catholic faith, under pain of damnation.
4. That Christ hath instituted seven true and proper sacra-

ments in the New Testament, neither more nor less, all conferring grace, and all necessary to salvation.

5. That the priests offer up our Saviour in the mass, as a real, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and that whosoever believes it not is eternally damned.

6. That in the sacrament of the eucharist the whole substance of bread is converted into the substance of Christ's body, and the whole substance of wine into his blood, and truly and properly, as that after consecration there is neither any bread nor wine remaining there; which they call transubstantiation, and impose upon all persons, under pain of damnation, to be believed.

7. That the communion under one kind is sufficient and lawful (notwithstanding the institution of Christ under both), and that whosoever believes or holds otherwise is damned.

8. That there is a purgatory after this life, wherein the dead are punished, and from whence they are fetched out by the prayers and offerings of the living; and that there is no salvation possibly to be had by any that will not believe as much.

9. That all the old saints departed, and all those dead men and women whom the Pope hath of late canonized for saints, or shall hereafter do so, whosoever they be, are and ought to be invoked by the religious prayers of all persons; and that they who do not believe this as an article of their Catholic faith cannot be saved.

10. That the relics of all true or reputed saints ought to be religiously worshipped; and that whosoever holdeth the contrary is damned.

11. That the images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, and of the other saints, ought not only to be had and retained, but likewise to be honoured and worshipped, according to the use and practices of the Romish Church; and that this is to be believed as of necessity to salvation.

12. That the power and use of indulgences, as they are now practised in the Church of Rome, both for the living and the dead, is to be received and held of all, under pain of eternal perdition.

13. That all the ceremonies used by the Roman Church in the administration of the sacraments (such as spittle and salt in baptism; the five crosses upon the altars, and sacrament of the eucharist; the holding of that sacrament over the priest's head to be adored; the exposing of it in their churches to be worshipped by the people; the circumgestion [carrying about] and carrying of it abroad in procession upon their Corpus Christi day, and to their sick for the same; the oil and chrism in confirmation; the anointing of the ears, the eyes and noses,

the hands and reins, of those that are ready to die; the giving of an empty chalice and paten to them that are to be ordained priests; and many others of this nature now in use with them) are of necessity to salvation, to be approved and admitted by all other Churches.

14. That all the ecclesiastical observations and constitutions of the same Church (such as are their laws of forbidding all priests to marry; the appointing of several orders of monks, friars, and nuns in the Church; the service of God in an unknown tongue; the saying of a number of Ave Marias by tale upon their chaplets; the sprinkling of themselves and the dead bodies with holy water, as operative and effectual to the remission of venial sins; the distinctions of meats to be held for true fasting; the religious consecration and incensing of images; the baptizing of bells; the dedicating of divers holy-days for the immaculate conception and the bodily assumption of the blessed Virgin, and for Corpus Christi, or transubstantiation of the sacrament; the making of the apocryphal books to be as canonical as any of the rest of the holy and undoubted Scriptures; the keeping of those Scriptures from the free use and reading of the people; the approving of their own Latin translation only; and divers other matters of the like nature) are to be approved, held, and believed, as needful to salvation; and that whoever approves them not, is out of the Catholic Church, and must be damned.

All which, in their several respects, we hold some to be pernicious, some unnecessary, many false, and many fond, and none of them to be imposed upon any Church or any Christian, as the Roman Catholics do upon all Christians or Churches whatsoever, for matters needful to be approved for eternal salvation.

OUR AGREEMENTS.

If the Roman Catholics would make the essence of their Church (as we do ours) to consist in these following points, we are at accord with them: in the reception and blessing of—

1. All the two and twenty canonical books of the Old Testament, and the twenty-seven of the New, as the only foundation and perfect rule of our faith.

2. All the apostolical and ancient creeds, especially those which are commonly called the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of St. Athanasius, all which are clearly deduced out of the Scriptures.

3. All the decrees of faith and doctrine set forth, as well in the first four general councils, as in all other councils, which

those first four approved or confirmed, and in the fifth and sixth general councils besides (than which we find no more to be general), and in all the following councils that be thereunto agreeable: and in all the anathemas or condemnations given out by those councils against heretics, for the defence of the Catholic faith.

4. The unanimous and general consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers and the universal Church of Christ in the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, and the collection of all necessary matters of faith from them during the first six hundred years, and downwards to our own days.

5. In acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome, if he would rule and be ruled by the ancient canons of the Church, to be the patriarch of the west, by right of ecclesiastical and imperial constitution, in such places where the kings and governors of those places had received him, and found it behoveful [advantageous] for them to make use of his jurisdiction, without any necessary dependence upon him by divine right.

6. In the reception and use of the two blessed sacraments by our Saviour; in the confirmation of those persons that are to be strengthened in their Christian faith, by prayer and imposition of hands, according to the examples of the holy apostles and ancient bishops of the Catholic Church; in the public and solemn benediction of persons that are to be joined together in holy matrimony; in public or private absolution of penitent sinners; in the consecrating of bishops, and the ordaining of priests or deacons for the service of God in his Church by a lawful succession; and in visiting the sick, by praying for them, and administering the blessed sacrament to them, together with a final absolution of them from their repented sins.

7. In commemorating at the eucharist the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood once truly offered for us.*

8. In acknowledging his sacramental, spiritual, and true and real presence there to the souls of all them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive him according to his own institution in that holy sacrament.

9. In giving thanks to God for them that are departed out of this life in the true faith of Christ's Catholic Church, and in praying to God that they may have a joyful resurrection, and a perfect consummation of bliss, both in their bodies and souls, in his eternal kingdom of glory.

10. In the historical and moderate use of painted and true

* See Note.

stories, either for memory or ornament, where there is no danger to have them abused or worshipped with religious honour.

11. In the use of indulgences, or abating the rigour of the canons imposed upon offenders according to their repentance, and their want of ability to undergo them.

12. In the administration of the two sacraments and other rites of the Church, with ceremonies of decency and order, according to the precept of the apostle, and the free practice of the ancient Christians.

13. In observing such holy-days and times of fasting as were in use in the first ages of the Church, or afterwards received upon just grounds by public and lawful authority.

14. Finally, in the reception of all ecclesiastical constitutions and canons made for the ordering of our Church; or others which are not repugnant either to the word of God, or the power of kings, or the laws established by right authority in any nation.

NOTE.

It pleased the Synod of Trent (not long after this Liturgy of ours was published) to lay their curse (their "anathema") upon all them that held the "celebration of this sacrament to be made a commemoration only of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross; or that said it was not a true propitiatory sacrifice, but a sacrifice only of praise and thanksgiving; or that taught any more, that this sacrifice profited none but those who communicate of it, and was not truly offered up for the sins, pains, and satisfactions of the living and the dead."—*Sess.* 22. For thus they declared themselves in ambiguous words, which, as they may have a right and true sense put upon them, so are they capable of a wrong and a false, if they intended them (as they did) against us. For we do not hold this celebration to be so naked a commemoration of Christ's body given to death, and of his blood there shed for us; but that the same body and blood are present there in this commemoration (made by the sacrament of bread and wine) to all that faithfully receive it: nor do we say, it is so made a sacrament of praise and thanksgiving, but that by our prayers also added we offer and present the death of Christ to God, that for his death's sake we may find mercy; in which respect we deny not this commemorative sacrifice to be propitiatory. The receiving of which sacrament, or participating of which sacrifice

exhibited to us, we say is profitable only to them that receive it and participate of it ; but the prayers that we add thereunto, in presenting the death and merits of our Saviour to God, is [are] not only beneficial to them that are present, but to them that are absent also, to the dead and living both, to all true members of the Catholic Church of Christ : but a true real presence and propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, *toties quoties*, as this sacrament is celebrated which is the Popish doctrine, and which cannot be done without killing of Christ so often again, we hold not ; believing it to be a false and blasphemous doctrine, founding ourselves upon the apostles' doctrine, that Christ was sacrificed but once, and that now he dieth no more.—*Bishop Cosin's Notes on the Common Prayer, in Tracts for the Times*, No. 81. pp. 135, 136.

We acknowledge an eucharistical sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; a commendative sacrifice, or a memorial of the sacrifice of the cross ; a representative sacrifice, or a representation of the passion of Christ before the eyes of his heavenly Father ; an impetrative sacrifice, or an impetration of the fruit and benefit of his passion, by way of real prayer ; and, lastly, an applicative sacrifice, or an application of his merits unto our souls. Let him that dare go farther than we do, and say that it is a suppletory sacrifice to supply the defects of the sacrifice of the cross ; or else let them [the Romanists] hold their peace, and speak no more against us in this point of sacrifice for ever.—*Archbishop Bramhall's Works*, p. 255. R.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH

IN MATTERS OF DISCIPLINE AND FAITH.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND ANTHONY SPARROW, BISHOP OF EXETER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Traet forms the Preface to Dr. Sparrow's "Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c., of the Church of England." It firmly maintains the authority of the Church in matters of discipline and faith, and the apostolical succession. The sentiments of its learned author respecting the blessed sacraments will be found in the Note. Dr. Sparrow was one of the presbyters selected to assist the prelates in the Savoy conference; and afterwards successively Bishop of Norwich and Exeter.

B.

CAMBRIDGE—*Feast of St. Philip and St. James.*

OUR great Lord and Master, Christ, having purchased to himself, by his precious blood, a peculiar people, his one mystical body the Church, sanctified it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, holy, "without spot" (Eph. v. 27)—not without all spot (there is a spot of God's children, of sins, of frailty, and infirmity, which the Church, as long as she is militant, will never be without), but without spot of malice and wicked lewdness; such spots and blemishes as were figured by the corporal blemishes forbidden to the priests and their sacrifices (Lev. xxi. and xxii. 20); spots that will make the Church as abhorred in the sight of God, as those bodily spots made the priests and their sacrifices unto the eyes of men; without such scandalous spots mentioned Gal. v. 9, all the members of this one body may and ought to be. That the Church may preserve herself in this purity without spot, and in this unity without division, and continue "one holy Church," as it is in our Creed, a double power and authority is needful, as to all other bodies politic, so likewise to this society of believers, the

Church ; one of jurisdiction to correct and reform those impure members by spiritual censures, whom counsel will not win, and, if they be incorrigible, to cast them out of this holy society, lest their leaven should leaven the whole lump (1 Cor. v. 6): thus to preserve the Church's purity, and again to correct and reduce to unity the contentious troublers of the Church's peace, if it may be, by charitable admonitions; if not, to stop their mouths (Titus i. 11), not by arguments alone, for such will never prevail upon absurd, unreasonable, and obstinate men (and such there always will be), but by spiritual censures, even to the casting them out of the Church's society, so as to preserve peace and unity. Besides this power of jurisdiction, there is necessary also, for the obtaining of those two high ends, a legislative power, to make canons and constitutions upon emergent occasions. For though our great Lord hath already given to his Church most holy and wise rules and laws for the same purposes, yet because they are general, not descending to every particularity of time, and place, and manner of performance, which yet are necessary to be determined for the preservation of public peace and unity; and because there may, at least through the perverseness of men of corrupt minds, arise some doubts and controversies about the sense and meaning of those most holy rules of our Lord, for the determination of which we are not now to expect any resolution from prophet or oracle, or other immediate voice from heaven: it doth hereupon necessarily follow that there must be authority left to this Church, and the governors thereof, to make new laws upon these emergent occasions, to determine these particularities, to decide and compose these controversies, whereby to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Whosoever shall think that all this may be done by friendly persuasion or learned disputes only, will find himself deceived, as experience of all ages hath shown, and will show as long as there be men of perverse minds and corrupt affections. Without a definitive and authoritative sentence, controversies will be endless, and the Church's peace unavoidably disturbed; and therefore the voice of God and right reason hath taught, that, in matters of controversy, the definitive sentence of superiors should decide the doubt, and whosoever should decline from that sentence, and do presumptuously, should be put to death, that others might hear and fear, and do no more presumptuously (Deut. xvii.), which is to be understood mystically; also of death spiritual by excommunication, by being cut off from the living body of Christ's Church. It being thus cleared, by reason and God's own rule, that such power is necessary for the preserving of peace and unity, it cannot be imagined with reason that our great Master

should deny his dear-bought body such necessities. But, not to rest upon the reason why they should be given, it may be made to appear that, *de facto*, he hath given such power to the Church, and that by reciting his gracious commissions granted to the Church, with his apostles' practice and exercise of those powers, who, best knowing their Lord's will and pleasure, must be, by their practice, the best interpreters of his mind and meaning. See, then, how read we? For the power of jurisdiction we find a large commission (St. John xx.): "As my Father sent me, so send I you;" and one particular jurisdiction there expressed, "Whosoever sins you bind on earth, they are bound in heaven"—a sharp and dreadful sentence, worse than that of the sword, by so much as the death of the soul is worse than the death of the body, which, in obstinate despisers of that correction, doth too certainly follow.

This power of spiritual censures St. Paul calls the "rod of discipline." (1 Cor. iv. ult.) By virtue of this power and commission, St. Paul delivers the incestuous Corinthian to Satan, and casts him out of the Church's communion (1 Cor. v.); and the same St. Paul not only exercises this jurisdiction himself, but also directs his son, Bishop Timothy, how to behave himself in the ordering of these Church censures (1 Tim. v. 19), not to receive an accusation against a presbyter under two or three witnesses; and when he hath to rebuke or censure, as the case requires, without partiality or leaning to either side: all which speak plainly a tribunal erected in the Church, and acknowledged by the apostle, enough to prove the power of jurisdiction. Then the legislative of making laws and constitutions for regulating manners and determining doubts and controversies, it cannot with reason be denied to be granted in that large commission forecited (John xx.): "As my Father sent me, so send I you." For here, committing the government of the Church to his apostles, our Lord commissions them with the same power that was committed to him for that purpose when he was on earth—with the same necessary standing power that he had and exercised as man for the good of the Church. Less cannot in reason be thought to be here granted than all power necessary for the well and peaceable government of the Church; and such a power is this of making laws: this is a commission in general for making laws. Then, in particular, for making articles and decisions of doctrines controverted, the power is more explicit and express (Matt. xxviii.): "All power is given to me; go, therefore, and teach all nations"—that is, with authority, and by virtue of that power that is given to me. And what is it to teach the truth with authority, but to command and oblige all

people to receive the truth so taught? And this power was not given to the apostles' persons only; for Christ there promised to be with them in that office to the end of the world—that is, to them and their successors in that pastoral office, to the apostles or bishops that should succeed them to the end of the world. This will appear still more clear by St. Paul (Heb. xiii.), where, after he had commanded them not to be carried about with divers and strange doctrines, he prescribes this as the preservative against such errors and inconstancy: “Obey them that have the oversight over you, and watch for your souls”—obey them in the guidance and conduct of your souls, in their determinations and decisions about such divers and strange doctrines;—all which supposes in those guides a power to govern and rule us in such doubts and controversies about doctrines and matters of belief, an authority to determine in controversies of faith, as our Church teaches in her twentieth Article. Add to this, that St. Paul tells us (1 Tim. iii. 15), that the Church is “the ground and pillar of truth.” And whither then should we go, in doubts and controversies, for the determination of what is truth, but to the ground and pillar of truth? For the clearer understanding of this power in the Church, know that to this one holy Church our Lord committed in trust the most holy faith, and the whole stock of necessary Christian truth, therefore called the ground and pillar of truth.

This truth she must endeavour to preserve, as by stopping the mouths of obstinate gainsayers, so by guiding and governing the meek but weak doubters into the truth, by determining their doubts and controversies. Not that the Church can make articles of faith and obtrude them upon the members, but that she may and must (if the true sense of faith and holy Scriptures be called in question) declare and determine what that sense is which she hath received in trust from Christ and his apostles, commanding, under penalties and censures, all her children to receive that sense, and to profess it in such expressive words and form as may directly determine the doubts. Thus she did in the great Nicene Council, venerable over all the Christian world; when the Arians had perverted, by subtle controversies and questions, the true sense of the Creed concerning our Saviour's divinity, she first declared in what sense of the Creed she had received by constant tradition from the apostles, and then enjoined all Christians to profess that sense by the word *ὁμοούσιος*, of the same substance with the Father—a word directly determining the controversy in hand. Nor did the Christian world ever question her authority in this particular. And in controversies about doctrines, where she hath received no such

clear determination of either part from Christ and his apostles, she hath power to declare her own sense in the controversy, and to determine which part shall be received and professed for truth by her members, and that too under ecclesiastical penalty and censure: which they accordingly are bound to submit to, not as an infallible verity, but as a probable truth, and rest in her determination, till it be made plain by as great or a greater authority, that this her determination is an error: and if it shall appear to any of the members to be an error, or if they shall think it so to be by the weight of such reasons as are privately suggested to them, yet are they still obliged to silence and peace (where the decision of a particular Church is against the doctrine of the universal), not to profess in this case against the Church's determination, because the professing of such a controverted truth is not necessary, but the preservation of the peace and unity of the Church is. This is not to assert infallibility in the Church, but authority. The sentence shall bind to submission, though the superiors may err in the sentence. Thus God ordered it (Deut. xvii.), that in doubts the inferior were to stand to the decision and sentence of the priests and the judge: and yet their judgment was not infallible; *πᾶσα συναγωγή* the whole assembly, the chiefest senate might err and sin through ignorance, and a sacrifice is appointed for the expiation of their error (Lev. iv. 13). Better that inferiors be bound to stand to such fallible judgment (as to quiet submission) in such kind of controversies as aforementioned, than that every man be suffered to interpret laws, and determine controversies, which will bring into the Church certain confusion. Nor will such submission in the inferiors be damnable, seeing in this submission to authority they follow God's method [obeying them that have the oversight over them (Heb. xiii. 17)], and keep order, of which God is the author (1 Cor. xiv. 33). God is not the author of confusion, but of order and peace, as in all Churches of the saints.

This authority in determining doubts and controversies, the Church hath practised in all ages, and her constant practice is the best interpreter of her right. We read not only of St. Paul's determining controversies about rites and circumstances (1 Cor. xiv.), but also of the Church's determining controversies of doctrines and matters of belief in a full council (Acts xv.), and requiring submission to those determinations from inferior members. The like did the Church afterwards in her general Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. And not only the general councils have exercised this authority, but particular Churches also in national councils—in the

Council of Orange, Milevis, and others—have used the same power over their children, whom they were bound to teach and govern, and for whose souls they were to account to God; and they did no more than was their right, so long as they did it with submission to the general Church to whom they are subject. Christ said to the apostles, and by this to all guides of souls that should succeed them in a lawful ordination, “He that hears you, hears me; and he that despises you, despises me.” (St. Cyp. Ep. 69).

From these premises it plainly follows, that our dear mother, the Church of England, in making these canons and articles for determining of controversies in matters of belief, which you may see in the ensuing collection, did no more than what was both her right and her duty to do, both for the preservation of her peace, and the guidance and conduct of the souls committed to her charge; and what her care hath been in the exercise of this power for the good of her members ever since the Reformation, will evidently to her honour appear by this following collection, made up not without great care and industry of the publisher. By which he hath done our Mother this farther right, that now whosoever will may easily see the notorious slander which some of the Romish persuasion have endeavoured to cast upon her, that her Reformation hath been altogether lay and parliamentary: for by the canons and articles following, which were formerly scattered, and hard to be seen by every one, now gathered together into a body, it easily appears to any that will but open their eyes and read, that the Reformation of this Church was orderly and synodical by the guides and governors of souls, and confirmed by supreme authority, and so in every particular as legal as any reformation could or ought to be.

NOTES.

I.

She [the Church of England] instructs out of holy Scripture, concerning the necessity and efficacy of baptism, as very briefly, so very pithily and fully. First, laying down this for a rule, that we are all born in sin, as it is Rom. v. 18, 19—all guilty in Adam’s fall (so the Catholic Church spread over the world always understood it—Con. Milev, c. ii.), and therefore by our first birth have no right to heaven, into which no unclean thing shall enter (Ephes. v. 5). Secondly, that therefore there is need of a second birth, to give us a right to that, as it is St. John iii. 3: “Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into

the kingdom of God." Thirdly, that this second or new birth is by water and the Holy Ghost (St. John iii. 5): "Except a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." By water and the Holy Ghost is there meant holy baptism. For first, this is the most literal interpretation of the words (for what is baptism but water and the Holy Ghost?), and therefore the best; for that is certainly the sense of the Holy Ghost, who, as we all believe, was the author of the letter of the Scriptures, and therefore of the literal sense, where that is not contrary to, but agreeable with, the other Scriptures. Now this literal sense given is agreeable to other texts, as, namely, to Acts viii. 38; x. 47; where water is declared to be the element of baptism. And expressly again (Ephes. v. 26): "Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water." And as this is the most literal, so is it the most Catholic interpretation of the words, and therefore the best, by St. Peter's rule (2 Pet. i. 20): "Knowing this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation." That this is the most Catholic interpretation, appears by St. Augustine, l. i.: "De peccator, mer et rem," c. xxx., Tertul. de Bapt., and all the ancient interpreters upon the place, who expound it all of baptism. And, indeed, if it were lawful to expound it otherwise, seeing no other Scripture contradicts this literal sense, I know not how it can be avoided, but that men may lose all their creed by playing so with Scripture, leaving the letter for figures. Thus are we instructed in the nature, necessity, and efficacy of holy baptism, that it is the only ordinary means of our regeneration or second birth, which gives us a right and title to heaven.—*A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer, &c.*, pp. 284, 286. 12mo. 1668.

II.

When the priest hath said at the delivery of the sacrament [of the holy eucharist], "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," the communicant is to answer "Amen" (St. Cyril, Myst. v). By this "Amen" professing his faith of the presence of Christ's body and blood in that sacrament.....Now that no man take offence at the word *altar*, let him know that both these names, *altar*, or *holy table*, were used for the same things, though most frequently the Fathers and councils use the word *altar*. And both are names for that holy thing. For the holy eucharist, being considered as a sacrifice in the representation of the breaking of the bread, and the pouring forth the cup, doing that to the holy symbols which was done to Christ's body and blood, and so showing forth and commemorating the Lord's death, and offering upon it the same sacrifice that was offered upon the cross, or rather the commemoration of that sacrifice (St. Chrys. in Heb. x. 9), may fitly be called an altar; which again is as fitly called an holy table, the eucharist being considered as a sacrament, which is nothing else but a distribution and application of the sacrifice to the several receivers."—*Ibid.* pp. 273, 379.

SOME HISTORICAL NOTES, &c.

AUTHORIZED BY CONVOCATION, A.D. 1662.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the following Tract may be seen the sentiments of the English Church, expressed by the bishops in 1661 and 1662, on the three important heads of (1) Fasting, (2) Holy Baptism, and (3) Holy Communion; on all which the Presbyterian or Puritan party required essential changes to be made, both in the calendar, rubrics, and offices of the Church. The ineffectual conference at the Savoy, in 1661, was followed by the decisive convocation of 1662. For the documents connected with the conference, and the subsequent revision of the Liturgy, the reader is referred to Dr. Cardwell's just published and highly interesting "History of the Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer," and Dr. Short's "Sketch of the History of the Church of England," in which latter work references are given to Baxter and Collier.

I.

OXFORD—*The Feast of St. Bartholomew*, 1840.

I. ON FASTING.

[The "Fasts" ordered or recommended in the Book of Common Prayer were objected to by the Puritan party as "unnecessary for the saving of the soul;" and it was desired now, by some, that there should be permitted "nothing in the Liturgy which may countenance the observation of Lent as a religious fast." The bishops replied to this demand in the terms following:—ED.]

"It is desired that nothing should be in the Liturgy which so much as seems to countenance the observation of Lent as a religious fast; and this is an expedient to peace, which is, in effect, to desire that this our Church may be contentious for peace sake, and to divide from the Church Catholic, that we may live at unity among ourselves. For St. Paul reckons them amongst the lovers of 'contention' who shall oppose themselves against the 'customs of the Churches of God.'* That the religious observation of Lent was a 'custom of the Churches of

* 1 Cor. xi. 16.

God' appears by the testimonies following:—S. Chrysostom, Sermon. xi. in Heb. x.; S. Cyril, Catech. Myst. 5; S. Augustine, Epist. 119; 'ut xl. dies ante Pascha observentur, Ecclesiæ, consuetudo roboravit.' And S. Hierom. ad Marcell. says, it was 'secundum traditionem apostolorum.' This demand, then, tends not to peace, but dissension. The fasting forty days may be in imitation of our Saviour,* for all that is here said to the contrary; for though we cannot arrive to his perfection, abstaining wholly from meat so long, yet we may fast forty days together, either Cornelius's fast, till three of the clock, afternoon; or St. Peter's fast, till noon; or, at least, Daniel's fast, abstaining from meats and drinks of delight; and thus far imitate our Lord.†

"Nor does the act of parliament, 5 Eliz., forbid it;‡ we dare not think a parliament did intend to forbid that which Christ's Church hath commanded. Nor does the act determine anything about Lent fast, but only provide for the maintenance of the navy, and of fishing, in order thereunto, as is plain by the act. Besides, we conceive that we must not so interpret one act as to contradict another, being still in force and unrepealed. Now the act of 1 Eliz. confirms the whole Liturgy, and in that the religious keeping of Lent, with a severe penalty upon those who shall, by open words, speak anything in derogation of any part thereof; and therefore that other act of 5 Eliz. must not be interpreted to forbid the religious keeping of Lent."—See *Caldwell*, p. 340.

* The Presbyterians in their "Exceptions" had said, that our Lord's so fasting was neither imitable, nor "intended to be imitated."

† Similar to this is the verse of holy Herbert:—

"'Tis true we cannot reach Christ's fortieth day,
Yet to go part of that religious way
Is better than to rest.
We cannot reach our Saviour's purity,
Yet we are bid 'Be holy e'en as he:'
In both let's do our best.

"Who goeth in the way which Christ hath gone,
Is much more sure to meet with him than one
Who travellet byways;
Perhaps my God, though he be far before,
May turn and take me by the hand; and more,
May strengthen my decays."

‡ This also was alleged at that time, as the "Homily" has been in ours.

II. HOLY BAPTISM.

[1. The Puritan party had revived and urged their old and consistent objections to parts of the baptismal office: their words were, "We cannot say in faith that every child that is baptized is regenerate." The bishops replied in these words following:—Ed.]

"Seeing that God's sacraments have their effects where the receiver doth not *ponere obicem* put any bar* against them (which children cannot do), we may say in faith of every child that is baptized, that it is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit; and the denial of it tends to Anabaptism, and the contempt of this holy sacrament, as nothing worthy nor material whether it be administered to children or no."—*Ibid.* p. 356.

[2. The signing of the cross in baptism was earnestly petitioned against. (*See Dr. Short*, p. 483). The bishops' reply here follows:—Ed.]

"The cross was always used in the Church *in immortalis lovacro* (Tertullian); and therefore, to testify our *communion* with them, as we are taught to do in our Creed, as also 'in token that we shall not be ashamed' of the cross of Christ, it is fit to be used still, and, we conceive, cannot trouble the conscience of any that have a mind to be satisfied."—*Ibid.* p. 350.

[3. Private baptism was objected to, as implying too strict a necessity of baptism to salvation.—Ed.]

The bishops answer:—"Since our Lord hath said (John iii.) 'Except one be born of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,' we think it fit that they should be baptized in private rather than not at all. It is appointed now to be done by the *lawful* minister."—*Ibid.* p. 356.

[And that baptism may be effectual, equally, when so administered, is made even more clear from the words of the same bishops in another place, thus:—Ed.]

"The effect of children's baptism depends neither upon their own present actual faith and repentance† (which the Catechism

* See "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," No. VI. p. 96, note.

† For the further justification of this answer, see S. August. Ep. 23, ad Bonifac.—"Nihil aliud credere, quam fidem habere: ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulum credere qui fidei nondum habet effectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum. Quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Itaque parvulum etsi nondum fides illa quæ in credentium voluntate consistit tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum, fidelem facit."—*Ibid.*

says expressly they cannot perform), nor upon the faith and repentance of their natural parents, or pro-parents, or of their godfathers or godmothers;* but upon the ordinance and institution of Christ.”—*Ibid.* p. 357.

III. THE HOLY COMMUNION.

[The practice of reading part of the service at the communion table, when there is no communion, was objected to.—Ed.]

The bishops answer as to this practice :—“ All the primitive Church used it ; and if we do not observe that golden rule of the venerable Council of Nice, ‘ Let ancient customs prevail till reason plainly requires the contrary,’ we shall give offence to sober Christians by a causeless departure from Catholic usage, and a greater advantage to enemies of our Church than our brethren, I hope, would willingly grant. The priest, standing at the communion table, seemeth to give us an invitation to the holy sacrament, and minds us of our duty, viz., to receive the holy communion, some at least every Sunday ; and though we neglect our duty, it is fit the Church should keep her standing.”—*Ibid.* p. 342.

[2. The insertion of the word “ minister ” instead of “ priest ” in the rubrics, &c., was required.—Ed.]

The bishops answer :—“ Since some parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a deacon, others by none under the order of a priest, viz., absolution, consecration, it is fit that some such word as priest should be used for those offices, and not minister,” &c.—*Ibid.* p. 342.

[3. The rubric sometimes telling the priest to “ turn to the people,” and sometimes “ to the holy table,” was objected to, on the alleged ground, “ that it is always most convenient to turn to the people in divine service.” To this the bishops answered :—Ed.]

“ The minister’s turning to the people is not most convenient throughout the whole ministration. When he speaks to them, as in lessons, absolution, and benedictions, it is convenient that he turn to them. When he speaks for them to God, it is fit that they should all turn another way, as the ancient Church ever did ; the reasons of which you may see St. August. lib. 2, de Serm. Dom. in Monte.”—*Ibid.* p. 353.

[4. The repetition of the sacred words, on the delivery of the holy sacrament to each individual, was objected to.—Ed.]

The bishops said—“ It is most requisite that the minister deliver the bread and wine into every particular communicant’s

* Neither the intencion of the priest.—See Article xxvi.

hand, and repeat the words in the singular number; for so much as it is the propriety of sacraments to make particular oblation to each believer; and it is our visible profession that, 'by the grace of God, Christ tasted death for every man.'—*Ibid.* p. 354.

[It was desired, also, that the surplice should be laid aside, and the blessed sacrament not received kneeling, both which points were refused by the bishops. Also, a rubric of Queen Elizabeth having stated that in kneeling we do not recognize a "real and essential presence," it was now altered to "corporal presence," so avoiding any apparent contradiction of the Catechism, that the "faithful" verily and indeed receive the body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper."—ED.]

NOTES

OF SOME MINOR CHANGES, EITHER REFUSED OR MADE, INDICATING THE
TONE OF THE REVISION OF 1662.

1. An alteration of the rubric respecting vestments, was asked; also,
2. An alteration of the Church ornaments, and the directions as to the place for saying the prayers.
3. An omission of all apocryphal lessons, and the "Benedicte;" and an abolition of "saints' days."
4. An alteration of the distinguishing phrase in the Litany, "deadly" sins.
5. An omission of the qualifying words in the Catechism, that there are "two sacraments only, generally necessary to salvation;" and some additions concerning faith, justification, and sanctification.
6. An alteration of the absolution in the office for the Visitation of the Sick. All which changes were refused.

And some others were made, of no great magnitude perhaps in themselves, but still important, as showing the *animus* of the revision of 1662.

1. The ember days' prayers were added.
2. The prayer against schism was inserted in the Litany.
3. The petition for bishops, pastors, &c., was changed for "bishops, priests, and deacons;" and a restoring of the word priest was ordered in several places.
4. The Collect for the third Sunday in Advent was put forth; and several others significantly altered.
5. The sentence mentioning the faithful departed was restored in the prayer for "the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth."

I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Litany is one of the most important parts of our Church service, and it will not be, we trust, without utility, to make the present introduction the means of illustrating its origin and intention. The word, which simply signifies *prayer*, was early applied to some specific form; and though we gather from Eusebius that, in his time, the general acceptation of the word was prayer of any description, yet we soon find, from the writings of Basil and Chrysostom, that a more confined meaning was given to the term. The change consisted in the restriction of the word to supplications made solemnly in the churches, and attended by public processions; and in the fourth century, the term Litany was so exclusively understood in this sense, that Arcadius forbade heretics to make litanies within the city. The most important light, however, in which the subject can be regarded is, that a litany was a special supplication; and we shall, therefore, investigate the practice of the early Church in this respect, and trace the continuance of such a practice throughout all ages to the present. And here we will once for all refer the reader, who desires more information than the space of an Introduction like this will allow us to give, to the profoundly learned work of Mr. Palmer, the "*Origines Liturgicæ*." It cannot be supposed that there was ever any period of the Church when her members were not occasionally gathered together to implore the protection of God under circumstances of danger and distress. We are especially told of the gathering together of the Church to make supplications for St. Peter when he was in prison; and we learn from the writings of Cyprian and Tertullian, that, in their days, forms of prayer were provided for fair weather, for rain, for deliverance from enemies, and other blessings. Nor does it appear that those prayers were unanswered, inasmuch as the records of the Church give us instances in which the prayers of the congregation were blessed with a favourable result. These, which may be called special services, grew in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries more common, and were, at the latter period, accompanied by fasting. And as the Christians of that day met in the churches to celebrate the fasts of the fourth and sixth

days of the week, so there appears reason to believe that such special services were public ones, and held in the churches.

In the West they were not called litanies, but supplications or rogations; nor was it till at least a century after the common use of the term *litany* in the East, that it was generally adopted by the Western Churches; and the term *rogation* is still preserved in our calendar on account of the following circumstance:

In the year 460, or about that period, the people of the diocese of Vienne, in Gaul, were suffering from several calamities, and the case appeared to the then bishop of that see, Mammertus, to deserve and require special supplications to Almighty God. He, therefore, instituted fasts and prayers to be kept on the three days previous to the feast of Ascension, and as these three days were annually observed, at first in his own diocese, and afterwards very extensively, they acquired the name which they still retain of *rogation days*. These were the only days set apart for such supplications; but processional litanies appear to have been of not unfrequent occurrence in all churches at that time. At Rome, under Gregory the Great, the word *litany* was applied to the persons who formed the procession, as well as to the service performed. Hence we hear of a litany of monks—a litany of married women—a litany of virgins—a seven-fold litany, which was performed on March 25th—and a litany proceeding from one church to another. These annual celebrations seem to have been confined to the Western Churches, and in the East, litanies were used only on occasions of great and urgent distress. With regard to the nature of the service used at these seasons, we have but little information. That the people fasted and prayed we know, and doubtless, in the East, the service was drawn up for the occasion. In the West, however, where the service was annual, we may be naturally led to look for a prescribed, unvarying, or but slightly varying form. The forms in use among ancient churches embraced nocturnal processions and supplications; and there is a very curious passage extant in the works of St. Basil, by which it appears that these services were occasionally performed by proxy. In the patriarchate of Constantinople, the term “litany” was almost exclusively confined to nocturnal services; and even in the present day the litany of the Greek Church is usually performed by night, and consists chiefly of psalmody. About the eighth century, the invocations to saints, with which many Western litanies abound, were introduced; and it appears that not only did the Eastern Churches *never* use litanies of this kind, but they were accused by those of Western origin of having *no litanies at all*, because no such invo-

cations appeared. Thus, then, the term litaney became still more circumscribed in the West, and was during, and long subsequent to the eighth century, used exclusively to signify a special processional service, consisting of prayers and psalmody, and introduced by a series of invocations of saints. One very remarkable feature in the ancient litanies is the frequent and earnest repetition of "*Kyrie eleeson*," "*Christe eleeson*." This is preserved in our own litany, but not to the same extent. The Roman litany required each to be repeated a hundred times; and there appears ground for believing that in all cases the repetition of these words, "Lord have mercy upon us," "Christ have mercy upon us," formed a large part of the service.

The Litany of our own Church was received in the first place from that of Gaul; and hence we find the rogation days observed from an early period as days of prayer and fasting; processions too were adopted, but these have gradually sunk into disuse, and are now observed but on one day. This one procession, which has been retained rather for civil than ecclesiastical purposes, is called "beating the bounds" of the various parishes; but originally it was a Church service, and accompanied by "a litany." In the time of Queen Elizabeth the processions were not obsolete; and there is an injunction from that queen as to the manner in which they should be performed, what part of the service should be recited in church, and what part during the procession. In the "*ordo Romanus*" it is provided that none should ride, or wear any kind of shoe or sandal, but be strictly barefooted. And this custom was frequent in the earlier ages of the English Church. It was not enjoined by Elizabeth, nor has it ever been revived. Her injunctions require that the curate should admonish the people to give thanks to God; that the 103rd Psalm should be repeated, and a species of commination said. With regard to the processional part of the service, it may be remarked that it was no proof of the custom of the primitive Church; and that consequently, in allowing it to sink into disuse, we have rather advanced nearer to than receded further from the custom of the apostolic times.

Mr. Palmer remarks, speaking of a litany considered simply as a collection of prayers, that it may be regarded in three lights. First, as a termination of the office of Morning-prayer; secondly, as a distinct service, and said after the Morning-prayer; and, thirdly, as an *introduction* to the Morning-prayer. The first appears to have been the more primitive custom, and is sanctioned by the usage of the ancient Church of Constantinople, and the yet more ancient apostolical constitutions, which cannot be refused to a later period than the beginning of the fourth century.

The second idea is sanctioned by the usage of the early English Church ; and the third, though now nowhere adopted, was yet previous to the ninth century the custom of the Church of Rome.

The most striking feature in our Litany is unquestionably its responsory form ; and though such forms have been in use from a very early period in the Western Churches, there are too strong proofs of orientalism in them to have any room for doubt as to their Eastern origin. We have seen that in the West the litanies were first corrupted by introducing the invocations of saints ; and we shall find that the nearer we approach to the earliest times of the Church, the more decidedly oriental shall we find the character of the litanies, and the freer from any false doctrine expressed or implied. The Litany in use now in our own Church may be traced in almost every petition to those of Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Cæsaræ.

A striking proof of this conformity to ancient models is given by Schultingius (quoted by Mr. Palmer). He says, speaking of the English Litany (with which he can find no other fault) : “ It is not pleasing to him that the suffrages and intercessions of the saints are omitted, contrary to the practice of the primitive Church, and the custom of ancient times.”

To this objection, Mr. Palmer gives a twofold reply, either part of which would be sufficient. First, as we have already seen, that the supplications in question were *not* primitive ; and, secondly, that there are other, and independent grounds, for their removal from the reformed service. He winds up his remarks on this subject by the following perfectly satisfactory observations : “ The Church of England was therefore justified in omitting the invocation of saints in her Litany. First, because the litanies of all churches were devoid of them for seven centuries ; secondly, because they were unnecessary ; thirdly, because they were imprudent ; and, fourthly, because they originated and promoted the danger of heresy and blasphemy : and on the same grounds we affirm that it is the duty of all other churches to follow her example.”

A part of the English Litany consists of special prayer and supplications offered up *after* the responsory part has been gone through ; and for these we have almost verbal precedents in the ancient liturgies to which we have in the course of this Introduction made reference ; but there is one variation too remarkable to be passed over in silence—we allude to the especial thanksgivings for rain, fair weather, deliverance from war and tumult, &c. Strange as it may seem, while the ancient liturgies abound in special prayers, they have no special thanksgivings ;

and the Anglican Church has, therefore, in this respect improved on the customs of the primitive Church, without, as Mr. Palmer justly observes, being in any way inconsistent with them.

Another subject treated of in the present Supplement is Absolution; and on this it will not be necessary to say much, because in the sermon of Bishop Andrews, in a former part, nearly all is said that can be said with regard to one view of the subject; and in that of Becon, in the second volume, and the Introduction to it, a full view is taken of the other side of the question. It is, however, a matter for some surprize that no popular writers, with the exception of Wheatley and Bishop Mant, have taken that combined view of the form of absolution without which it cannot fail to be misunderstood. Andrews and Comber speak solely of the forgiveness of sin, without specifying against whom the sin is committed. Becon, and writers holding the same views with him, speak also exclusively of the forgiveness of sin, and justly conclude that God only can forgive it. Hence they necessarily view the absolution of the Church as merely declaratory; the others, on the contrary, judging from the obvious tendency of the service, pronounce it judicial. Wheatley and Bishop Mant, however, perfectly reconcile both these views, and show how far the absolution service is to be considered declaratory, and how far judicial. Mr. Palmer has a valuable remark on this part of our Morning-service, which, while it does not enter into the question to which we have just alluded, bears, nevertheless, some reference to it. He says, "the sacerdotal benediction of penitents was, in the earliest times, conveyed in the form of a prayer to God for their absolution; but in after ages different forms of benediction were used, both in the East and West. With regard to these varieties of form, it does not appear that they were formerly considered of any importance. A benediction seems to have been regarded as equally valid, whether it was conveyed in the form of a petition or a declaration—whether in the optative or the indicative mood—whether in the active or the passive voice—whether in the first, second, or third person. It is true that a direct prayer to God is a most ancient form of blessing; but the use of a precatory or optative form by no means warrants the inference that the person who uses it is devoid of any divinely instituted authority to bless and absolve in the congregation of God. Neither does the use of a direct indicative form of blessing or absolution employ anything but the exercise of an authority which God has given, and under such limitations as divine revelation has declared." The distinction between the forgiveness of God for the guilt of sin and the forgiveness of the Church

for her violated ordinances, is thus clearly established, and is a distinction calculated to clear up many apparent difficulties in the Liturgy of the Church. Those who are not acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, and know, therefore, nothing of the prevailing habits of thought which obtained when any peculiar service was framed, are not qualified, without help, to understand its import; and hence we see with pleasure the increasing attention paid by the clergy to ritual antiquities, and the care which they take to convey to those under their charge the results of their investigations.

C.

CAMBRIDGE,

The Feast of St. John. Evan., 1842.

ON ABSOLUTION.

BY THE VERY REV. THOMAS COMBER, D.D., DEAN OF DURHAM.

A Practical Discourse on the Absolution in the Morning and Evening Prayer.

ALMIGHTY GOD, *the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* There is nothing in the world more desirable than the peace of a good conscience, especially to those who have felt the smart of a conscience disquieted by sin. The pardon of sin, which removes those terrors, is most welcome news to such, and the messengers most acceptable; but he that hath been truly humbled, will make a stop, either out of doubting or admiration, when a Nathan is sent from God to tell him of a pardon. He wishes it might be according to that word; only the greatness of his desires awaken some little jealousies lest the message be too good to be true; and therefore such an one may ask us by what authority we do this. We answer, we are but deputed servants in all we do, much more in this transcendent part of our office. We show them our commission from Almighty God, whose power none can question, it being a part of his name to be the pardoner of iniquity, transgression, and sin, viz., of all sorts, in thought, word, and deed. His laws indeed forbid sin, and his word decrees punishment for it; but this doth not tie his hands, nor take away his privilege to forgive, by which indeed he shows himself Almighty, Supreme Lord of all the world, above us and his own laws, so that he can dispense with them. He that bound can loose without appeal or controul. We come from him who is the offended party, and the judge who, if he please to forgive, can do it so fully, that neither men nor devils can call you to a farther account. Now, if this term of Almighty prove dreadful, as representing an almighty justice who remits not without blood, so that the poor soul ask, "Where is the Lamb?" I answer, God hath provided, and in the next words, "Behold the Lamb of God," Jesus Christ; for this Almighty God is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in him the Father of mercies and God of all comforts." He is satisfied with that all-sufficient

sacrifice, so that now he can be just and yet forgive us. He that sends us, can pardon by his supremacy easily, may do it by his covenant in Christ Jesus justly, will do it through his love in him certainly. And now methinks the pious man should be transported with ecstasies of reverence and love—reverence to this mighty God—love to this merciful Father. Behold that glorious God, whose anger thou hast provoked, and whose commissions for thy final ruin were issuing out to be executed by the destroying angel; He is now the Father of Jesus, and for his sake, and at his entreaty, hath sealed thy pardon, and cancelled that warrant signed for thy execution, and sent thee a full and free absolution by the hands of a minister of peace. What position is lowly enough to receive it? What love great enough to return for it? O blessed change! Now thou seest what Jesus hath done for thee, look not so much to the hand that brings it as to the power that sent it, and the merits that purchased it! So shall thy faith be firm, thy comforts sweet, and thy peace durable; so that nothing but wilful renewed affronts against him that sent it, can alter thy pardon, abate thy joy, or disturb thy happy peace.

Who desireth not the death of a sinner. These are the very words of God himself, Ezek. xviii. 23, and for better confirmation they are again repeated chap. xxxii. 11, and are strengthened by an oath, which he is pleased to take by his life, that is, himself, Heb. vi. 13. Not that he needs such bonds to keep him to his promise, but for the confirmation of our faith, and as a condescension to our infirmity. Indeed, all God's words are most true, but not many have an oath annexed as this hath, which he (that will not have us swear but upon weighty occasions) would not have added, but because the belief of this is the foundation of all religion, since no man can begin to seek to God till he believe that he delights in mercy, and is willing to receive those that turn to him. Wherefore, let us not doubt so great and necessary a truth confirmed by an oath, who assures us, he wills not the death of a sinner. He doth not will nor desire it as we do those things which we have pleasure in, but is even forced to it against his inclination. Which gracious nature of God is here set before the sinner's eyes, to discover what probability there is for his granting out such a commission, because he that desireth not the death of sinners, is very likely to offer them a pardon. It is indeed only said, he wills not their death: but this phrase means, he desires their life, even the everlasting life of all penitents. So that if the hopes of remission will support them, and give them encouragement to seek for happiness, they shall find enough in him. To do good is the nature of God: he doth this

willingly and readily, without the consideration of merit, or expectation of reward; but punishments are extorted from him by men's wickedness; and when he inflicts them, he expostulates with himself, like an indulgent father about to correct a disobedient child. Surely it is no incredible thing that he should send a pardon. It is the device of Satan to picture the Almighty so dreadful, that he may be a terror to his supplicants, to make men fear, and hate, and fly from him, rather than serve him with delight. But God is love, and especially kind to men, who have no reason to dishonour him by dismal apprehensions of him. Remember, I beseech you, the price paid for you, the covenant made with you, the promises given to you. Call to mind how justly, frequently, and easily he might have cut you off, if he had not designed to be reconciled; and think of the earnestness of his invitations, continuance of his patience, the acts of his Providence, and all other means used to preserve you; and then blush at yourselves for having ever had hard thoughts of God, or doubting he would not absolve you. Whosoever hath so conceived of God is as bad as an atheist: for one takes away God's being, and the other his goodness, as if, like the Scythian deities, he rejoiced in human sacrifices. Yea, we ourselves had rather be reported to be dead, than traduced living; but though this unbelief do attempt to dishonour God, the mischief lights upon itself; for God is glorious still in mercy, and he that does not believe it, is void of love and hope, weak in faith, full of fears and dismal expectations; and when he that is persuaded of God's mercy can rejoice in hearing this absolution, the other quarrels with the messenger, or suspects the master, and troubles himself with endless scruples.

But rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live. We must be cautious, while we endeavour to prevent despair, that we encourage not presumption; and lest any should think, when they hear of God's kindness to sinners, that he will allow them their sins, this is added to show, that he so desires our happiness as the end, that he desires our holiness as the way thither. He would have us live, viz., in eternal glory: but his desires cannot be accomplished if we continue in our wickedness, because then God is obliged in justice to destroy us. Therefore, he labours to turn us from those evil ways which end in death, and to bring us into the safe paths of holiness, which are the beginning of heaven upon earth; for the felicity of heaven is but an addition to, and the perfection of holiness. In vain, then, does any trust to this mercy of God who lives wickedly still; for what father would spare his obstinate child, or what prince pardon his rebellious subjects, but upon condition they will not renew the

same crimes? It is possible indeed to obtain a pardon from man when the offenders mean not to reform. Cæsar was stabbed by Brutus, a reconciled enemy, whom he had adopted for his son. Cicero was beheaded by Popilius, whom he had saved from public justice. But the all-seeing God knows your purposes, and can tell what you will do hereafter; so that you may deceive yourselves in hoping for forgiveness while you turn not from your wickedness; but you cannot deceive him. He will not make his mercy the support of your iniquity; nay, it would undo sinners, if he should too easily forgive; such mercy, before true repentance, would make sin cheap, and encourage men to do wickedly. Wherefore, he sends his ambassadors to proclaim his gracious intentions of saving you, lest any should grow desperate with Cain, and, as the hardened traitor, resolve to die in their rebellion. But these ministers of God are first to turn men from their iniquities, and if they prevail in that, they have a pardon ready sealed, and can assure them of life everlasting. That God who punisheth unwillingly will freely forgive; it is most evident he had rather give you life, and will rejoice if you accept it; and if you miss it, it is because you had rather sin and die, not because he had rather you should so perish.

And hath given power and commandment to his ministers. Whoever hath a just right and absolute authority, may either exercise it in person, or depute others by communicating to them their power to act subordinately, and then these substitutes have a ministerial right, so far as their commission extends. A temporal prince can do thus, and choose which of his subjects he pleaseth, to act in his name and by his authority. Much more may the God of heaven do so; and we are taught whom he did choose, viz., the apostles and their successors, who are his ambassadors, his ministers and stewards of divine mysteries, nay, the presidents of souls, and the familiar friends of God. The Scripture calls them "angels," because they have the same employment which the ancients ascribed to angels, to convey messages between God and men, to present their prayers unto him, and to bring back the news of his love, and especially to bring this pardon to the penitent, yea, to proclaim it even to the impenitent. Wherefore, let those that despise the priest, or who invade his office, or allow no difference between a pardon pronounced by him and an ordinary person, take heed of contemning those whom God so highly honours, and beware they entrench not upon the supreme power of the sender, in disallowing the subordinate power of those that are sent. A condemned man may be told of a pardon intended to him, but he will then believe and rejoice in it when his prince's herald approacheth with

it in his hand. And should not we show as much reverence and joy upon the news of a greater absolution, as that learned professor did, who, though in some things he dissented, yet in this of absolution, was so clear, that he desired it on his death-bed, and kissed the hands of his brother professor, who, at his earnest request, had absolved him. But besides their power as the ambassadors of Christ, they have a special charge and command to restore them that fall, to comfort the feeble-minded ; and, under the allegory of shepherds, are severely threatened, if by their neglect, the diseased, broken, and scattered ones of the flock should perish ; and certainly, if sinners grow desperate, because they know not of a pardon, it will be heavily charged upon these shepherds, who do not proclaim this (as we do in our Church every day), to bring such to a hearty repentance. A power we have always ; but when there is any truly humbled, then we have an express command to loose them of their bonds.

To declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins. As the priests of the law were to pronounce a blessing upon the offerers, so those of the Gospel are to dispense the blessing of absolution unto the penitent. And we declare it in this daily form, according to the power which God hath given us ; but upon great need and special occasion, are ready more solemnly to pronounce it to those that are prepared for it, according to the particular charge we have received ; and in both cases we can assure those that truly repent, that the guilt of their sin shall be absolved, and the punishment remitted. But God himself will not forgive any but those that are penitent, and, therefore, his servants cannot, whose power in this is limited and regulated by God's will. Indeed, we cannot see the hearts of men, nor infallibly determine of the sincerity of their repentance ; but yet we see external signs of it, prostration, confession, and, in some sighs, and tears. Wherefore, charity obligeth us to judge favourably in dubious cases, and it is better to commit an error on the right hand of mercy than a horrid crime by cruelty ; and good men, especially ministers, out of tenderness, should hope the best. The Rabbins say, in the cause of blood, if one have the casting voice, he must ever take the merciful side, and give his suffrage for sparing. And the same reason holds here, especially because in a mixed congregation many are truly penitent, and some of them much dejected, and these must not starve for fear others surfeit, lest we destroy the righteous with the wicked. Wherefore, we hold out a daily pardon, but we sufficiently exclude the ungodly, because we declare it only belongs to the penitent. Yet though the minister is to judge charitably, the people are to

examine impartially, because though the servant cannot, yet the master can distinguish between the penitent and impenitent. And though the minister shall have a reward for his charity, the obstinate sinner shall not have the benefit thereof. Let it therefore be your care to examine your hearts, and repent truly, that so you may not only have a pardon from man, but from Almighty God also. For he that truly repents, and then comes humbly to receive this absolution, shall have God sealing it to him.

He pardoneth and absolveth. The unjust steward, for flattery and advantage, doth in his own name, by private compacts, diminish and remit his master's debts without his consent; and those priests are false stewards to the God of heaven, who in the same manner acquit sinners. But whatever the priests of the Roman Church may get by such fraudulent dealings, sure I am that God keeps so exact a debt book, that he will lose nothing, only the credulous debtor shall suffer by his rash belief, when he is called over to a new reckoning; but because fidelity is the most necessary qualification in a steward, we do not pretend to do this in our own names, but being to publish a pardon, we do it *in nomine domini* (not we, but he pardoneth), for it is God's sole privilege to forgive sins. The Scribes and Pharisees called it blasphemy for any one to pretend to this power, and the Fathers of the Christian Church prove Jesus Christ to be God because he forgave sin, which none can do but God, and his Son Jesus, who is also very God, and purchased this mercy of absolution with his own blood. Wherefore, we give to God the things which are God's, and plainly declare he is the author, we the dispensers only, of his favour—the witnesses and messengers to bring certain news thereof. The Supreme Judge, he from whom there is no appeal, pardoneth thee. Fear not, then, the state of Agag, whom Saul had pardoned, but God had not; whereupon Samuel hewed him in pieces in the midst of his vain hopes that the bitterness of death was past. He pardoneth, that hath no equal to examine or approve, much less superior to disannul his actings. Our absolution, therefore, is profitable when the persons are meet to receive it, but the stamp of God will make it current in heaven itself. The priest's pardon is not complete till it be ratified there; while we are holding out this absolution, He that knows who among you are true believers and really penitent, will to such seal their pardon in heaven, which will make ours to be valid; for it is our great Master that absolveth, because what we do is pronounced in his name, dispensed by his authority, offered on his conditions, and confirmed by his approbation.

All them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Repentance and faith are, by Christ and his apostles,

made the conditions of all the Gospel promises, and without them no absolution can be had. Those that have these, no man can condemn, but without these, no man can acquit. It was, therefore, a great arrogance in those ecclesiastics in St. Jerome's time, who imagined they could save or destroy at pleasure ; and it is as great a vanity in any to believe a servant acting contrary to his master's known will. Wherefore, if any, by hypocrisy, shall think to surprise an absolution, or if he that dispenseth it act by prejudice or corruption, it must be insignificant, because it must nullify the pardon of Him who can see whether these qualifications are in him that receives it or no. And though we hold out this act of grace to all, yet our Master pardons none but such as do repent truly and believe unfeignedly ; and how many soever do so, though they have been the worst of sinners, they shall every one be forgiven. Let us then take care to come, first, with a humble, lowly, penitent, obedient heart, sorrowing and being ashamed, fearing exceedingly, confessing humbly, and resolving heartily against all sin. Let us beware, that a hard heart, a customary confession, and hypocritical pretences, do not ruin our hopes and blast our desires ; for he only pardoneth the real penitent. Secondly, let us bring with us an unfeigned faith in his Gospel, trusting in the assurance of his promises, persuading ourselves of the necessity and excellence of his laws, and confirming our souls in the expectation of his rewards, and this faith unfeignedly will open the door of mercy. But for that bold challenge which some make to the promises and the benefits of the Gospel, while they are void of hatred to sin, or love to God, it is only feigned to stifle the accusations of conscience, to ward off the threats of the law, and to give the man liberty to sin. God will never accept such to remission, who have no other ground for their confidence, but only because they had persuaded themselves of a falsehood. Remember, you come to him for pardon that searcheth the heart, and strive that your repentance may be true, your faith cordial and sound, and learn by this order, first, to repent of your former ways, before you entertain too particular confidences of God's love, and your interest in Jesus. For when you have truly repented, the more firmly you believe, the greater will be God's glory, the sweeter your comfort, and the sooner will your absolution be confirmed. Though your iniquities are heinous and innumerable, if upon the sight of them you do condemn yourself, with real purposes of amendment, and (notwithstanding your unworthiness) do trust to the merits of Jesus, and believe all the gracious promises of the Gospel, I doubt not to assure you this your repentance and faith shall pass the test of God himself, and your desires shall be satisfied in his mercy.

Wherefore, let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his Holy Spirit. The duty of a minister chiefly consists in instruction and exhortation—the first, to convince the understanding; the second, to engage the affections—both which parts of this office the priest doth here exercise; for hitherto he hath testified there is remission to be obtained, and now he exhorts to seek for it. In this paragraph, we are directed how to obtain—in the following, we are encouraged by the benefits to be had thereby. Now this present exhortation is a conclusion inferred from all the former parts of this absolution, which in this word “wherefore,” are urged as so many motives to quicken our addresses—viz., first, since God, who is full of power and mercy, would not the death of us sinners, but desires we may live, therefore, we may cheerfully come to him for help, who will be as well pleased with the opportunity of giving, as we with the mercy of receiving. Secondly: he hath commissioned ministers to be the heralds of his willingness to forgive. Wherefore, let us, in answer to this gracious invitation, go in and submit to him, who though he be the offended party, first sent to us to be reconciled. Thirdly: he hath assured us, he will absolve none without true repentance. Wherefore, let us beg of him who requires this condition to give what he requires. Upon all these considerations, “Let us beseech,” &c. If we now make not our applications, it will be a despising his love, slighting his message, and sending back his servants empty. O let us earnestly pray for true penitence; we are encouraged by his gracious nature, engaged by his courteous offer of a treaty, urged by necessity, as being not like to be forgiven without it. Farther, we must ask these favours of him from whom comes “every good and perfect gift.” And if we consider what we ask, viz., repentance and the Holy Spirit, we shall easily discern they must not be sought anywhere else. Repentance is a change of the notions of the mind, the choices of the will, the actings of the affections and passions, enduing us with new joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, desires and aversations. So that it is a kind of new creation, and he alone that brought life out of death, and light out of darkness, can bring us from the death of sin and darkness of iniquity, to the life and light of holiness and piety. We can fall down by our own weight, but we cannot rise out of this narrow pit without help, nay, we sink lower, for our hearts are as backward to repent, as forward to sin, and by frequent commission we love sin more, and are more loath to part with it. Yesterday, we mistook by accident—to-day, we desire to be again in such circumstances—to-morrow, we shall run into them; so that we must seek repentance from God, and his Holy Spirit also, which is, therefore, called his, because it only proceeds from him. Now

these two being both so necessary for us, and of so incomparable advantage to us, let us humbly on our knees beseech God to grant them to us, which word denotes a free act of grace from a prince to his subject, though few offending subjects can have a pardon granted upon their repentance; yet God deals so with us, and hath not only promised to forgive us when we do repent, but to give us grace that we may repent, and if we have this gracious assistance, no doubt we shall repent truly, and not fall into Ahab's hypocrisy, Israel's treachery, nor Judas's despair. O let us pray for his Holy Spirit of grace, which will open our eyes to see our sins, soften our hearts to mourn for them, and strengthen our purposes to amend them; and this is true repentance, yea, this is an unfeigned faith also (which is here understood, but not expressed): for faith and true repentance are so inseparably joined, that in Scripture repentance is put for both, because he that is truly humbled and really purposed to amend, doth ever trust in God's mercy; or else faith is left out here, because when we pray for his Holy Spirit, it is that it may produce in us all graces, especially faith, which is that gracious fruit of the spirit of adoption, by which we call God, Father, and as such rely on him. 'Tis certain if we can prevail with God for his holy spirit, it will bring faith and all graces with it, and will assist us to do good. When repentance hath taken us off from our evil courses, this will keep out those lusts which repentance helped to exclude. But observe, repentance goes first, for we must not expect this holy dove will abide in impure places, since even the unclean spirit expects his house to be swept and garnished. We may then hope to have our prayers for God's Holy Spirit heard, when repentance hath prepared his lodgings in our hearts.

That those things may please him which we do at this present.

Having thus taught you who to pray to, and what to pray for, it remains that we show the great advantages of having these prayers heard, that so you may not put up so weighty requests without such hearty desires and zealous affections as are suitable to them. For this one petition granted, will procure you, first, present acceptance—secondly, future assistance—thirdly, endless; but if you pray not so devoutly and earnestly as to obtain repentance and his Holy Spirit, your absolution must be cancelled, your services rejected, your souls continue polluted here, and be condemned to endless misery hereafter. So that we hope your own interest will quicken you most passionately to beg for them. To which purpose consider them severally: First, if your confession, prayers, and endeavours be such as can prevail with God to give you a true repentance and his Holy Spirit, then

all the duties now performed shall be acceptable, particularly, and in the first place, that which the minister is about, viz., the absolution. This shall be confirmed by God, and he will assent to it, so that your pardon shall be enrolled in heaven, and then all other duties that we and you do, shall be pleasing to God, and beneficial to you. Our mutual and common prayers shall be answered, our praises accepted, our hearing shall be converting and salutarious, our communicating, an infallible conveyance and comfortable seal of grace and peace. But without repentance, all our prayers and praises, and all we do, shall be rejected as a mocking to God. Without his Holy Spirit also, all our services are harsh and displeasing, flat and dull, in God's account. It is this good Spirit that makes our hearts and tongues agree; this enlightens our minds to see our wants, quickens our memory to remember them, touches our hearts for a sense of them, confirms our faith that God can supply us, and enlarges our affections to beg the relief of them. In a word, this Spirit of God helps us to ask, inclines him to give, and fits us to receive all we pray for; so that God is not pleased when we worship him without it, and denies nothing when we have it. Yea, our Saviour accounts it the same to give us the Holy Spirit, and to give us all good things that spring from it. And now, who would not earnestly beg for such a true repentance, as might invite this Holy Spirit into their hearts, which will be the seal of their pardon, and make all they do well pleasing to God. To please him is the Christian's highest aim. It was David's prayer, and the greatest blessing the priest could wish, that Almighty God might accept them. Poor Socrates, after many a tedious step in a virtuous but afflicted state, could not tell whether he had given content to his deities or no. But whoever of you have the grace of repentance and the Holy Spirit, are not in those uncertainties; but have Enoch's testimony, that you do please God.

And that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy. This is the second benefit and motive earnestly to pray for these things; for so you shall not only be welcomed at present with a gracious smile, but all your lives long be reputed as the friends of God, and, by his help, shall be preserved pure as a true repentance hath made you, and holy as those are who are under the guard of the Spirit of Holiness. Pray therefore with all your hearts for a true repentance, or else as soon as your soul is washed, it will return to its impure wallowings, and all your labour is in vain hitherto; for a feigned repentance sends this Absalom away for a while, but upon the next interview it will hurry us with more passion into its embraces; whereas the deep wounds of the true penitent make sin hateful to him while he

lives, and he that gets on a white garment with so much pains will not easily sully it, but carefully preserve it pure as his tears have made it. And upon this ground also we must be very pressing for the Holy Spirit, which, if we can obtain, we shall not only be preserved from the spots of sin, but shall shine with the lustre of a holy life. Our goodness is apt to vanish; we are wavering, and soon weary, unless we have that establishing Spirit which David prays for, and then all duties will be easy. Our love, and the sense of his assistance, will carry us so cheerfully through them all, that they shall be our pleasure, not our burthen; and, when we are arrived to this, nothing can bribe us to forsake them. O, happy soul! which is thus begun to be restored to that purity and holiness which are part of God's image and parcels of the divine perfections! Blessed is he that is so far advanced that God is not like to forsake him, because he hath made him holy, pure, and a fit temple for the inhabitation of his Spirit; nor is he likely ever to forsake that God whose mercy hath saved him, whose grace doth refresh him, whose ways please him, and whose glorious bounty (which faith discovers) doth still allure him to press forward to nearer unions and inseparable connexions. No state under the sun is to be longed after and wished for like this, which a true repentance and God's Holy Spirit bring us to.

So that at the last we may come to his eternal joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. There is nothing more desirable than the sweet peace of a good conscience, but only the end and perfection thereof, even that happiness which is infinite and endless, which the Scripture calls an eternal and everlasting joy, which men nor devils cannot lessen or interrupt, much less take from us. If God give us true repentance it will preserve us from the sins which forfeit this joy; and, if he add his Holy Spirit, it will safely conduct us into those paths of righteousness which lead to that bliss where we can desire no more, because we have all that is desirable. There are no cares to disturb, no fears to allay, nor sorrows to abate those ravishments of delight for ever; there is joy which far surpasseth the half sad and mixed pleasures of this world, being nothing else but pure delight, which pleaseth by its own excellence, and by having no fears nor possibility of defailance in degree or continuance. We taste something of it in the pleasing calm of a strong faith and a quiet conscience, and cheerful expectations of God's love: but this is but the landscape of our heavenly Canaan which Jesus hath purchased for us, and God the Father will grant unto us, and the most Holy Spirit will be our guide thither. The whole glorious Trinity will put us into possession thereof, and then rejoice over

us to all eternity. The Father who forgave us, the Son who died for us, and the blessed Spirit who wrought effectually in us, will communicate this their joy with us and to us for ever. And, lastly, to show that you thankfully follow these directions of the ministers, and have in your own heart and thoughts most devoutly petitioned God for a true repentance and his Holy Spirit (by means whereof all these incomparable benefits may redound to you); in testimony, I say, hereof, you sum up all in a petitionary Amen, desiring it may be so, and assenting also to the truth of all this. It is most true, and therefore so be it unto you. Amen.

The Paraphrase of the Absolution.

Be it known unto every one of you that hath confessed his sins with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, that *Almighty God*, Supreme King of heaven and earth, whose royal prerogative it is fully to acquit or finally to condemn, he being *the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*, is now, by his merits, of an angry Judge become a tender Father, and hath solemnly sworn he is one *who desireth not*, neither taketh pleasure in, *the death or damnation of a sinner*, though never so justly deserving it, *but rather* chooseth to have opportunity to show mercy, and therefore he useth all possible means *that he* who hath sinned *may turn from his wickedness*, which would bring him into condemnation, that, by leaving these paths of death, he may be forgiven *and live* in holiness and comfort here, and in everlasting joy hereafter; *and* to confirm this, and keep penitent sinners from despair, he *hath given power*, by virtue of his supreme authority, *and commandment*, for the exercise of this power on special occasions, *to his ministers*, which are lawfully chosen to be his ambassadors, ordering them *to declare* at all times his willingness to pardon *and* to *pronounce* absolution, more particularly *to his people*, being grieved and truly penitent for all their offences (as you now from your hearts seem to be). Know ye, therefore, that we are authorized, in God's name, to bring to such this message of *the absolution* from the guilt, *and remission* of the punishment, *of their sins*; and by virtue of the power, and in obedience to the command given to us by God, we do now proclaim, that not we, but *he* that can do it by his own right, *pardoneth and absolveth*, both from guilt and punishment, *all them* that are qualified for a pardon, by those conditions which are by him required, even them *that truly repent* and grieve for all their evil ways, longing to be delivered from them, and seriously purposing to amend them; these shall never be condemned, if they will trust in his mercy *and unfeignedly believe*

the promises of *his holy Gospel*, particularly accepting this message of his love therein manifested. *Wherefore*, since God is so able and willing to pardon, and hath sent his ministers to offer a pardon to the penitent and believing, O let us not lose the benefit of so gracious an offer, but *let us* all (since all are sinners) go together to the throne of grace upon this courteous summons, and *beseech him* earnestly to *grant us true repentance*, such as he can work in us, and such as he will accept to our forgiveness; and, having thereby cleansed us from by-past sins, let us more heartily beg the help of his grace *and his Holy Spirit*, to purify our hearts, strengthen our faith, and bless our endeavours of reformation, which petitions we must ask fervently: first, *that those things may please him*, even our absolution, our prayers, and all the other duties *which we do at this present* perform in his house; *and*, secondly, *that the rest of our lives*, which formerly have been so sinful, *hereafter may be pure* from wickedness, sanctified, *and holy* in all points; *so that*, thirdly, *at the last*, when death puts an end to the tedious sorrows and short contents of this mortal life, *we may come to his eternal joy*, which is inconceivable and endless, without mixture or diminution; and which is so much above our deserts that we could not hope ever to obtain it, but *through Jesus Christ our Lord*, who, by his death, purchased this pardon, by his intercession, prevaleth for this grace, and at his ascension took possession of this eternal joy for all that are truly absolved; to which we all say *amen*. Lord, be it so unto us. Amen.

Sect. 2—*Of the Absolution at the Communion.*

He must be wholly a stranger to the discipline of the ancient Church who knows not how great a care was taken that no public offender might partake of these mysteries, until, by a long trial and a great humiliation, he had received an absolution as public as his crime had been; so that it was a mighty and scandalous irregularity in St. Cyprian's time, that lapsed persons, by the favour of the confessors and martyrs, were in some places suffered to communicate without the solemn absolution, which yet was rectified afterwards. But this godly discipline being now everywhere laid aside, it is so much the more necessary to supply it by this general confession and absolution, concerning which in general the reader may consult what is said before. And as to this particular form, it shall suffice to note that it is in imitation of that ancient form of blessing being expressed by way of prayer as there, "The Lord bless thee," &c. And since it is certain there is such a power vested in the ministers of the Gos-

pel, to support the spirits of a dejected penitent by antedating his pardon in the name of God ; there can be no fitter opportunity to exercise this power than now, when so many poor humbled sinners are kneeling to God, and begging forgiveness at his hands. Then it becomes the priest, in confidence of his Master's mercy, to give them his best wishes, and with more than an ordinary prayer, to signify as well as to ask their pardon. You have said with David, "We have sinned;" wherefore God hath sent his minister, like another Nathan, to assure you that "he hath also put away the iniquity of your sin." And though David might, by his faith in the promises, have found some comfort, yet neither so sure nor so sweet a consolation as when he receives it from the mouth of a special messenger. So likewise, if we would choose to believe rather than dispute, it would be a powerful cordial to every troubled spirit, by a particular officer from the King of heaven, to be thus saluted; and he that cannot value this absolution from the priest, can no other way receive satisfaction to his doubts and fears, unless he expect to be assured of his remission by an immediate revelation, or can be content to stay till the day of judgment for the resolution of this great enquiry. Only let us but be careful that our repentance be sincere, and then we may, with much joy, hear the following absolution, which very briefly we shall now explain:—

The Analysis of the Absolution.

The absolution hath three parts:—	1. The original from which it springs		{ Almighty God, our Heavenly Father,
	2. The ground on which it depends	His promise	{ who of his great mercy hath promised
			{ forgiveness of sins
			{ to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him,
	3. The petitionary blessing or absolution itself, for	3. The conditions annexed to it	{ have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins,
		1. The averting the evil of	{ 1. Sin, and 2. Punishment.
			{ confirm and strengthen you in all goodness,
		2. The obtaining of good, both	{ 1. Present { and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
			{ 2. Future

A Practical Discourse of the Absolution.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him. The spiritual physician doth here proceed most regularly in the cure of poor sinners that labour under a burden of guilt and sorrow; for he first promises such considerations as may dispose them to believe that the following blessing shall be ratified, and the absolution confirmed by a higher Power. For, first, he minds them that he, who, as Almighty, and only can forgive, is also their heavenly Father, and full of compassion towards them; yea, like as a Father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him. But of this before. Secondly, he shows that God is not only engaged by his affections, but by his truth also, to deliver them; for he hath solemnly promised that he would freely forgive and fully be reconciled to all such as unfeignedly grieve for their sins, and wholly cast themselves upon his mercy, so that they cannot doubt of a pardon if they believe him to be faithful that promised. It was indeed only his great mercy which moved him to promote this, because he might most righteously have taken the first forfeiture made to his justice; but, now this gracious promise is made by him that cannot lie, there is a certainty of the performance. He knew that as the stroke of his vengeance was intolerable, so the expectation thereof was terrible and amazing; wherefore he promised forgiveness on purpose to prevent the despair of such as were willing to amend, that by so great a favour he might engage them to obedience, and encourage them in all the parts of duty. Yet because it almost exceeds belief that ever God should receive such grievous sinners, and they that are most truly humble are most apt to question this, therefore is all this promised, to prepare them with faith and hope to entertain that which follows.

Have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. When Jesus was to raise up Lazarus from the dead, he commanded the men who stood by to remove the stone from the grave, and afterwards to unloose the grave clothes; even so, though he only do give life to sinners, yet he is pleased to use the ministry of his servants in the dispensation of their pardon. The prayer is made by the priest, but then it is directed to the Divine Majesty; and though, according to the ancient manner, it be put

into the form of a request, yet, being grounded on the promise, and agreeable both to the nature and design of God, it hath a mighty force, and ascends heaven *cum privilegio* ; it is like the father's blessing, which hath always been believed to convey as well as crave the benediction—thus Isaac blessed Jacob. In the imperative mood : “God give thee,” &c. ; “Let the people,” &c. ; “Be thou, Lord,” &c. And thus Jacob blessed Joseph's sons, and the Lord accomplished all the particulars. Let it, therefore, cheer your hearts, ye contrite ones, to hear this blessing from your Spiritual Father ; for, behold, it contains all that you do need or can desire. Are you miserable ?—here is mercy. Are you sinful ?—here is pardon. Are you liable to punishment ?—here is deliverance. Are you desirous but unable to do good ?—here is strength and confirmation. Are you fearful of death and hell ?—here is heaven and everlasting life. And all this asked of God by one that he hath commissioned to make this prayer ; so that your only care is, that your repentance be such as your minister believes it to be, and then this absolution shall certainly be confirmed in the high court of heaven, and not one word thereof shall fall to the ground.

The Paraphrase of the Absolution.

Let not the multitude of your sins discourage any of you who are truly grieved for them, for I am bound to speak peace to you in the name of *Almighty God*, against whom you have offended, because he is our *our heavenly Father*, infinite in mercy and loving-kindness. And you may believe this the more firmly, since it is he *who, of his great mercy* and pity to poor sinners, so freely and frequently *hath promised* to grant *forgiveness of sins* and a gracious pardon *to all them that with hearty repentance* for their grievous offences, *and true faith* in his mercy and the merits of Jesus, do *turn unto him*, to seek remission and obtain his favour ; I, his substitute, believing you to be such, do, according to mine office, beseech and require this our gracious Lord to *have mercy upon you*, and to pity your misery, as also to *pardon the guilt and deliver you from* the punishment, temporal, spiritual, and eternal, due unto you for *all your sins* ; and when he hath acquitted you, and so engaged you to live more holily hereafter, let him *confirm* you in the purposes *and strengthen you in* the performance of *all goodness* and virtue ; so that, finally, he (for his mercy) may save your souls, *and bring you safely through all the dangers of this world to everlasting life*. Let all this be granted and made good unto you every

one, *through* the merits and the intercession of *Jesus Christ our Lord*, who hath purchased all these benefits for repentant sinners. *Amen.* Be it so.

Sect. 3.—*Of the Absolution for the Sick.*

The last part of the office for the sick is consolatory, and this is as necessary as any of the former for them who have the terrors of death before them, a sick body about them, and a sorrowful spirit within them. “To the afflicted, pity should be shown;” and “mercy is seasonable in time of affliction, as clouds and rain in the time of drought.” Man must not deny this charity, since “God will have mercy on his afflicted.” He will not “break a bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax,” St. Jerome applies to dejected penitents. We must imitate the divine compassion, and beware that our severity discourage not those whom he would save. We have hitherto applied caustics, by showing them the strict rules of repentance, and now it is time to administer such sacred cordials as may enable them to go through the whole method of restoration; we only wounded them in order to a cure, and now we must pour in our holy oils and balsams. And, first, we begin with absolution, which seems to be positively enjoined by St. James to be given to the sick penitent by the priest that comes to pray over him; for the apostle adds, “And if he have committed sins, remission or absolution shall be given to him,” which is the right translation of the impersonal verb used in the original; and the practice of the primitive Church (the best of commentaries) confirms this exposition, they being always wont to grant absolution to all sorts of penitents lying in danger of death. Eusebius records a decree of the famous Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, “That dying persons, who desired it, and had requested it before, should be absolved, that they might go out of this life with good hope.” The like canon was made in the Western Church about the same time, “That such whose life drew to an end, so that their case admitted of no delay, if they repent and detest their evil deeds, showing the signs of true contrition, by tears, sighs, and lamentations (when little hope of recovery remains), let them be relieved with care and caution.” Synesius also solemnly professeth he would by no means have any one die without absolution. And Petavius there notes, that where penitents were not admitted to the holy sacrament, yet they denied them not the comfort of absolution in their sickness. I grant this discipline did chiefly respect such as were excommunicated by the Church; but, as St. Cyprian speaks, “What profits it not to be cast out of the assembly of

the pious? The casting out is one step towards the recovery; the greatest evil is to deserve to be excommunicated." Although the sins be so secret, or the discipline so remiss, that no public sentence passes on the offender, yet every grievous sinner hath deserved to be censured, and is condemned by his own conscience, and under the displeasure of Almighty God; and, therefore, such stand in need also of absolution—yea, if they bewail their sins and heartily desire it, it were cruelty to deny them; if we have any balm in Gilead, any power to absolve, now we must use it, for St. Paul's reason; "Let such an one be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow." The Montanists and the Novatian heretics of old (like our modern Separatists) would absolve none; but the Donatists and Audiani (like those of Rome) assumed to themselves an absolute power; while the Church of England (as the primitive Catholic Church was wont) goes a middle way, and neither absolves any absolutely by her own power, nor yet denies to absolve in Christ's name those who are truly penitent and desire it. And doubtless, if men were not prejudiced by evil principles, our sick and dying persons might have as much comfort by this excellent part of the office as the Christians of old found in it; and if they rightly knew the benefit thereof, and duly prepared for it, nothing could better fit them for a cheerful passage out of this world. To which that it may minister, we will now proceed to discourse upon the form which is provided for this occasion.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, forgive thee thine offences, and by this authority committed to me I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. This is the most express form of absolution which this Church doth anywhere use; and there is great occasion for it, since the penitent hath now done all that he can to satisfy the priest of the sincerity of his repentance, and to fit himself for his heavenly Father's pardon; and being to conflict with the pains of death (if the holy man judge him prepared for so positive an absolution), it will wonderfully support him in his last agony, if he antedate his comfort by exercising that power which God hath given him. The form itself is very ancient, consisting now, as it did of old, of two parts, the first deprecativè, the second indicativè; the one entreating for pardon, the other dispensing it. First, in the deprecatory part, we commemorate the author of this power, *our Lord Jesus Christ*, who by his death purchased remission of sins for all mankind; and, therefore, he alone is the Judge of all men, having the supreme power in himself originally to save or to con-

demn. Secondly, the persons to whom he hath delegated this power, viz., the ministers of his Church ; to these he hath committed the ministry of reconciliation. They are first to bring sinners to submit to Jesus, and when they do so they have power to reconcile them. Whoever is rightfully endued with plenary authority to forgive, as Jesus is, may exercise this power by himself, and by his chosen deputies, as the Christian bishops and priests in all ages have been reputed. They therefore act in his name, and exercise the power which he gave them, when they do absolve unfeigned penitents ; and they can absolve no other, as appears, thirdly, by the limitation as to those who are subjects fit and capable of the benefit of this power, viz., all sinners who truly repent and believe. We, being servants, must use our derived power, not according to our own will, but his from whom we receive it. God will not forgive any without faith and repentance ; and we must not pretend to be greater than he ; we must see good signs of repentance and faith, otherwise we have no commission to grant this absolution, nor will the sick man have any benefit by it if we do. Fourthly, here is the petition itself, viz., that Jesus will *forgive him his offences*—that is, by confirming in heaven what we do on earth, that he who is our Lord will forgive by our ministry ; for we presume not to exercise our power till we have first begged of him to show mercy, who only fully and finally can forgive.

Secondly, we proceed, upon these premises, to the indicative part of the absolution, as we may very justly do ; for if Christ have this power, and has committed it to us, when we have petitioned of him to grant a pardon we may safely dispense it. Yet, that we may in nowise encroach upon our great Master's prerogative, we do here again declare, with St. Paul, we do it "in the person of Christ," that so he, not we, may have the praise for it. Jesus gave this power to his apostles, and they to their successors, who communicated it to us by prayers and imposition of hands at our ordination, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost.....whose sins ye remit, they are remitted," &c. And now, when we see good evidence that the sick man is prepared to receive this grace, and know he needs it exceedingly, and will be wonderfully supported by it, we give it him in God's name, and he ought to look on us but as the instruments to convey the pardon which Jesus gives ; so the Church of England taught our forefathers to believe, "which words being spoken by the priest on earth, he ought to believe they shall be ratified in heaven, and that he is already freely pardoned, for the merit of Christ's passion." The absolution is only ministerially conveyed by the priest, but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,

in whose name it is pronounced, do join in the confirmation thereof. Wherefore let the sick man value it highly, receive it with reverence, and hope for the blessed effect thereof. And let not the priest rashly cast this pearl before swine, nor presume to absolve those whom he doth not believe to be truly penitent; for in so doing he abuses the power which God gave him, exceeds the bounds of his commission, and dangerously deceives the man whom he so unduly absolves. The obdurate must not have it, lest they presume; and the contrite must not want it, lest they despair: let it be prudently dispensed, and then there will be gained abundant satisfaction, both to the giver and receiver. Amen.

ON THE LITANY.

BY THE REVEREND CHARLES WHEATLEY, M.A.

The Introduction.

THE word Litany is used by the most ancient heathens for an earnest supplication to the gods, made in the time of adverse fortune; and in the same sense it is used in the Christian Church, viz., for a supplication and common intercession to God, when his wrath lies heavy upon us. Such a kind of supplication was the 51st Psalm, which may be called David's Litany. Such was that Litany of God's appointing (Joel ii. 19), where, in a general assembly, the priests were "to weep between the porch and the altar," and to say, "Spare thy people, O Lord" (in allusion to which place, our Litany, retaining also the same words, is enjoined by the royal injunctions, still in force, to be said or sung in the middle of the Church, at a low desk, before the chancel door, anciently called the faldstool). And such was that Litany of our Saviour (Luke xxii. 44), which he thrice repeated "with strong cryings and tears."

Sect. 2. As for the form in which they are now made, viz., in short requests by the priests, to which the people all answer, St. Chrysostom saith it was derived from the primitive age, while the priest was inspired with miraculous gifts. For he first began and uttered by the Spirit some things fit to be prayed for; and then the people (who knew not what to pray for as they ought), having their infirmities thus helped by the Spirit, joined their intercessions, saying, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord." Tertullian tells us, that by prayers in this form, which they used on the days of their stations or humiliations, viz., Wednesdays and Fridays, they removed drought; and in Cyprian's time they frequently supplicated God after this manner for removing or moderating his judgments. And St. Ambrose hath left a form of Litany, which bears his name, agreeing in many things with this of ours. For when miraculous gifts began to cease, they wrote down several of those forms, which were the original of our modern office.

Sect. 3. About the year 400 they began to be used in procession, the people walking bare-foot, and saying them with

great devotion; by which means, it is said, several countries were delivered from great calamities. About the year 600 Gregory the Great, out of all the Litanies extant, composed that famous seven-fold Litany, by which Rome was delivered from a grievous mortality, which hath been a pattern to all the western Churches since, and to which ours comes nearer than that in the present Roman missal, wherein later popes had put the invocation of saints, which our Reformers have justly expunged. But here we must observe that Litanies were of use before processions, and remained when they were taken away. For those processional Litanies having occasioned much scandal, it was decreed, that the Litanies should for the future only be used within the walls of the church; and so they are used amongst us to this day.

Sect. 4. The days it is appointed to be used upon are ordered, by the fifteenth canon, to be Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient fasting days of the primitive Church; the death of Christ being designed on the Wednesday, when he was sold by Judas, and accomplished on the Friday, when he died on the cross. It is now required by the rubric to be said on Sundays also, partly because there is then the greatest assembly to join in so important a supplication, and partly that no day might seem to have a more solemn office than the Lord's-day.

Sect. 5. The particular time of the day when it is to be said seems now different from what it was formerly. For, before the last review, the Litany was a distinct service by itself, and used some time after the Morning-prayer was over; as may be gathered from the rubric before the commination in the old Common Prayer-book, which orders, that "after Morning-prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled together in the Church, the English Litany shall be said after the accustomed manner." This custom, as I am informed, is still observed in some cathedrals and chapels; though now, for the most part, it is made one office with the Morning-prayer, it being ordered, by the rubric before the prayer for the king, to be read after the third collect "for grace," instead of the intercessional prayers in the daily service. And accordingly we find, that as the afore-mentioned rubric before the commination office is now altered, both the Morning-prayer and the Litany are there supposed to be read at one and the same time.

Sect. 6. By the 15th canon above-mentioned, whenever the Litany is read, "every householder dwelling within half a mile of the church is to come or send one at the least of his household, fit to join with the minister in prayers."

Sect. 7. The posture which the minister is to use in saying

the Litany is not prescribed in any present rubric; but the injunctions of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth doth appoint, that "the priests, with others of the quire, shall kneel in the midst of the Church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany, which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, to the intent that the people may hear and answer," &c. As to the posture of the people, nothing need be said in relation to that, because whenever the priest kneels, they are always to do the same.

Sect. 8. The singing of this office by laymen, as practised in several cathedrals and colleges, is certainly very unjustifiable, and deservedly gives offence to all such as are zealous for regularity and decency in divine worship. And therefore (since it is plainly a practice against the express rules of our Church, crept in partly through the indevout laziness of minor canons and others, whose duty it is to perform that solemn office, and partly through the shameful negligence of those who can and ought to correct whatever they see amiss in such matters) it cannot surely be thought impertinent, if I take hold of this opportunity to express my concern at so irreligious a custom. And, to show that I am not singular in my complaint, I shall here transcribe the words of the reverend and learned Dr. Bennet, who has some time since, upon a like occasion, very severely, but with a great deal of decency, inveighed against this practice, though I cannot learn that he has yet been so fortunate as to obtain much reformation.

"I think myself obliged (saith he) to take notice of a most scandalous practice, which prevails in many such congregations as ought to be fit precedents for the whole kingdom to follow. It is this, that laymen, and very often young boys of eighteen or nineteen years of age, are not only permitted, but obliged to perform this office, which is one of the most solemn parts of divine service, even though many priests and deacons are at the same time present.

"Those persons upon whom it must be charged, and in whose power it is to rectify it, cannot but know that this practice is illegal, as well as abominable in itself, and a flat contradiction to all primitive order. And one would think, when the nation swarms with such as ridicule, oppose, and deny the distinction of clergy and laity, those who possess some of the largest and most honourable preferments in the Church, should be ashamed to betray her into the hands of her professed enemies, and to put arguments into their mouths, and declare by their actions that they think any layman whatsoever as truly authorized to minister in holy things as those who are regularly

ordained. Besides, with what face can those persons blame the Dissenting teachers for officiating without episcopal ordination, when they themselves do not only allow of, but require the same thing?"

Sect. 1.—*Of the Invocation.*

We have a divine command to call upon God for mercy in the time of trouble; and all the Litanies I have seen begin with this solemn word, *Κύριε ἐλέησον*—"Lord, have mercy upon us." So that this invocation is the sum of the whole Litany, being a particular address for mercy, first to each Person in the glorious Trinity, and then to them all together. The address being urged by two motives, viz., first, because we are miserable; and secondly, because we are sinners; upon both which accounts we extremely need mercy.

Sect. 2. The design of the people's repeating these whole verses after the minister is, that every one may first crave to be heard in his own words; which when they have obtained, they may leave it to the priest to set forth all their needs to Almighty God, provided that they declare their assent to every petition as he delivers it.

Sect. 2.—*Of the Deprecations.*

Having opened the way by the preceding invocation, we now begin to ask; and because deliverance from evil is the first step to felicity, we begin with these deprecations for removing it. Both the eastern and western Church begin their Litanies after the same manner; theirs as well as ours being a paraphrase upon that petition in the Lord's prayer, "deliver us from evil."

Sect. 2. But because our requests ought to ascend by degrees, because we ask for a perfect deliverance, we beg the mercy of forbearance. For we confess "we have sinned with our fathers" (Psalm cvi. 6), and that therefore God may justly punish us, not only for our own sins, but for theirs also, which we have made our own by imitation. For which reason we beg of him "not to remember," or "take vengeance" of us for them, especially since he has himself so dearly purchased our pardon with his own "most precious blood." But, however, if we cannot obtain to be wholly spared, but that he may see it good for us to be a little under chastisement, then we beg his correction may be short and soon removed, and that he would "not be angry with us for ever."

And the sum of all that we pray against being deliverance from the evils of sin and punishment, we begin the next petition with two general words which comprehend both; for "evil and mischief" signify wickedness and misery; and as the first is

caused by the "crafts and assaults of the devil," so the second is brought upon us by the just wrath of God here, and completed by everlasting damnation hereafter; and therefore we desire to be delivered both from sin and the punishment of it, as well from the causes that lead to it as the consequences that follow it.

After we have thus prayed against sin and misery in general, we descend regularly to the particulars, reckoning divers kinds of the most notorious sins, some of which have their seat in the heart or mind, and others in the body. And, first, we begin against those of the heart, where all sins begin, and there recount, first, the sins concerning ourselves, and secondly, those concerning our neighbours. Of the former sort are "blindness of heart" (which we place in the front as the cause of all the rest), and "pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy," which are united together in this deprecation as vices which generally accompany one another. Of the other sort are "envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness;" in which words are comprehended all those sins which we do or can commit against our neighbour in our hearts.

From the heart sin spreads further into the life and actions, and thither our Litany now pursues it, beginning with that which St. Paul reckons first among the works of the flesh, but which is notwithstanding the boldest and most barefaced sin in this lewd age, viz., fornication, which is not to be restrained to the defiling of single persons, but comprehends under it all acts of uncleanness whatsoever. But though this be a deadly sin, yet it is not the only one; and therefore we pray to be delivered from "all other deadly sins," by which we understand not such as are deadly by way of distinction, or as they stand in opposition to venial sins (for there are no sins venial in their own nature), but such as are most heinous and crying above others. For though every sin deserve damnation in its own nature, yet we know that the infinite goodness of God will not inflict it for every sin. But then there are some sins so exceeding great, that they are inconsistent even with the Gospel clemency, and immediately render a man obnoxious to the wrath of God, and in danger of eternal damnation. And these are they, which we pray against, together with all other sins, which we are apt to fall into through the deceits of our three great enemies which we renounced in baptism, "the world, the flesh, and the devil."

When the cause is removed, there are hopes the consequences may be prevented. And therefore, after we have petitioned against all sin, we may regularly pray against all those judgments with which God generally scourges those who offend him;

whether they are such as fall upon whole nations and kingdoms, and either come immediately from the hand of God, as lightning and tempest, plague, pestilence, and famine; or else are inflicted by the hands of wicked men, as his instruments, as battle and murder; or whether they are such as fall upon particular persons only, as sudden death; such as happen sometimes by violence, as by stabbing, burning, drowning, or the like; or else of a sudden and in a moment's time, without any warning or apparent cause. And though both these kinds of death may sometimes happen to very good men, yet, if we consider that by such means we may leave our relations without comfort and our affairs unsettled, and may ourselves be deprived of the preparative ordinances for death, and have no time to prepare our souls for our great account, prudence, as well as humility, will teach us to pray against them.

Having thus deprecated those evils which might endanger our lives, we proceed next to pray against such as would deprive us of our peace and truth; as well those which are levelled at the state, as is all "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion," as those which portend the ruin of the Church, as "all false doctrine, heresy, and schism." And then we conclude with the last and worst of God's judgments, which he generally inflicts upon those whom neither private nor public calamities will reform, viz., "hardness of heart, and contempt of his word and commandment." For when people amend not upon those punishments which are inflicted upon their estates and persons, upon the Church and State, then the patience of God is as it were tired out, and he withdraws his grace, and gives them up to a reprobate sense, the usual prologue to destruction and damnation, from which deplorable condition, "Good Lord, deliver us."

And now to be delivered from all these great and grievous evils, is a mercy so very desirable, that it ought to be begged by the most importunate kind of supplication imaginable. And such are the two next petitions, which the Latins call *obsecrations*, in which the Church beseeches our dear Redeemer to deliver us from all the evils we have been praying against, "by the mystery of his holy incarnation," &c.; i.e., she lays before our Lord all his former mercies to us, expressed in his incarnation, nativity, circumcision, baptism, and in everything else which he has done and suffered for us; and offers these considerations to move him to grant our requests, and to deliver us from those evils.

And though we are always either under or near some evil, for which reason it is never unseasonable to pray for deliverance;

yet there are some particular times in which we stand in more especial need of the divine help; and they are either during our lives, or at our deaths. During our lives we particularly want the divine assistance, first, "in all times of tribulation," when we are usually tempted to murmuring, impatience, sadness, despair, and the like; and these we pray against now before the evil day comes. Not that God would deliver us from all such times, which would be an unlawful request, but that he would support us under them whenever he shall please to inflict them. The other part of our lives which we pray to be delivered in, is "all time of our wealth," *i.e.*, of our welfare and prosperity, which are rather more dangerous than our times of adversity; all kinds of prosperity, especially plenty and abundance, being exceedingly apt to increase our pride, to inflame our lusts, to multiply our sins, and, in a word, to make us forget God and grow careless of our souls. And therefore we had need to pray that in all such times God would be pleased "to deliver us." But whether we spend our days in prosperity or adversity, they must all end in death, in the hour of which the devil is always most active, and we least able to resist him. Our pains are grievous and our fears many, and the danger great of falling into impatience, despair, or security; and therefore we constantly pray for deliverance in that important hour, which, if God grant us, we have but one request more, and that is, that he would also deliver us "in the day of judgment," which is the last time a man is capable of deliverance, since, if we be not delivered then, we are left to perish eternally. How fervently, therefore, ought we to pray for ourselves all our life long, as St. Paul prayed for Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 18), that "the Lord would grant unto us, that we may find mercy of the Lord in that day?"

Sect. 3.—*Of the Intercessions.*

If the institution of God be required to make this part of our Litany necessary, we have his positive command, by St. Paul, "to make intercession for all men" (1 Tim. ii. 1). And if the consent of the Universal Church can add anything to its esteem, it is evident that this kind of prayer is in all the liturgies in the world, and that every one of the petitions we are now going to discourse of, are taken from the best and oldest Litanies extant. All, therefore, that will be necessary here, is to show the admirable method and order of these intercessions, which are so exact, curious, and natural, that every degree of men follow in their due place; and at the same time, so comprehensive, that we can think of no sorts of persons but who are enumerated, and

for whom all those things are asked which all and every of them stand in need of.

Sect. 2. But because it may seem presumptuous for us to pray for others, who are unworthy to pray for ourselves, before we begin we acknowledge that we are sinners. But yet if we are penitent, we know our prayers will be acceptable; and, therefore, in humble confidence of his mercy, and in obedience to his command, "We sinners do beseech thee to hear us" in these our intercessions, which we offer up, first, for the holy Church universal, the common mother of all Christians, as thinking ourselves more concerned for the good of the whole than of any particular part. After this we pray for our own Church, to which, next the Catholic Church, we owe the greatest observance and duty; and therein, in the first place, for the principal members of it, in whose welfare the peace of the Church chiefly consists. Such as is the king, whom, because he is the supreme governor of the Church in his dominions, and so the greatest security upon earth to the true religion; we pray for, in the three next petitions, that he may be orthodox, pious, and prosperous. And though at present we may be happy under him, yet, because his crown doth not render him immortal, and the security of the government ordinarily depends upon the royal family, we pray, in the next place, for them (and particularly for the heir apparent), that they may be supplied with all spiritual blessings, and preserved from all plots and dangers.

The Jews and Gentiles always reckoned their chief priests to be next in dignity to the king, and all ancient liturgies pray for the clergy immediately after the royal family, as being the most considerable members of the Christian Church, distinguished here into those three apostolical orders of "bishops, priests, and deacons."

Next to these follow those who are eminent in state, viz., "the lords of the council and all the nobility," who, by reason of their dignity and trust, have need of our particular prayers, and were always prayed for in the old liturgies by the title of "the whole palace."

After we have prayed for all the nobility in general, we pray for such of the nobility and gentry as are magistrates, or more inferior governors of the people, according to the example of the primitive Christians, and in obedience to the positive command of St. Paul, who enjoins us to pray "for all that are in authority" (1 Tim. xxii).

After these we pray for "all the people," *i.e.*, all the commons of the land, who are the most numerous, though the least eminent; and unless they be safe and happy, the governors them-

selves cannot be prosperous ; the diseases of the members being a trouble to the head also.

And though we may be allowed to pray for our own nation first, yet our prayers must extend to all mankind ; and therefore, in the next place, we pray for the whole world, in the very words of ancient liturgies, viz., that “all nations may have unity” at home among themselves, “peace” with one another, “and concord,” *i.e.*, amity, commerce, and leagues.

Having thus prayed for temporal blessings, both for ourselves and others, it is time now to look inward, and to consider what is wanting for our souls. And therefore we now proceed to pray for spiritual blessings, such as virtue and goodness. And, first, we pray that the principles of it may be planted in our “hearts,” viz., the love and dread of God, and then that the practice of it may be seen in our lives, by our “diligent living after his commandments.”

But though we receive grace, yet, if we do not improve it, we shall be in danger of losing it again ; and therefore, having in the former petition desired that we might become good, we sub-join this, that we might grow better, begging “increase of grace,” and also that we may use proper means thereunto, such as is the “meekly hearing God’s word,” &c.

From praying for the sanctification and improvement of those within the Church, we become solicitous for the conversion of those that are without it, being desirous that “all should be brought into the way of truth who have erred or are deceived.”

But though those without the Church are the most miserable, yet those within are not yet so happy as not to need our prayers, some of them standing in need of strength, and others of comfort. These blessings, therefore, we now ask for those that want them.

Having thus considered the souls of men, we go on next to such things as concern the bodies, and to pray for all the afflicted in general, begging of God to “succour all that are in danger,” by preventing the mischief that is falling upon them ; “to help those that are in necessity,” by giving them those blessings they want ; and “to comfort all that are in tribulation,” by supporting them under it, and delivering them out of it.

And because the circumstances of some of these hinder them from being present to pray for themselves, we particularly remember them, since they more especially stand in need of our prayers, such as are “all that travel by land or by water,” and the rest mentioned in that petition.

There are other afflicted persons who are unable to help

themselves, such as are "fatherless children and widows," who are too often destitute of earthly friends, and such as are desolate of maintenance and lodging, or are oppressed by the false and cruel dealings of wicked and powerful men; and therefore these also we particularly recommend to God, and beg of him to "defend and provide for" them.

And after this large catalogue of sufferers, as well in spiritual as temporal things, lest any should be passed who are already under, or in danger of, any affliction, we pray next that God would "have mercy upon all men."

And then, to show we have no reserve or exception in our charity or devotions, we pray particularly for "our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers," who we desire may be partakers of all the blessings we have been praying for, and that God would, moreover, "forgive them, and turn their hearts."

After we have thus prayed, first for ourselves, and then for others, we proceed to pray for them and ourselves together, begging, first, whatsoever is necessary for the sustenance of our bodies, comprehended here under "the fruits of the earth."

And then, in the next petition, asking for all things necessary to our souls, in order to bring them to eternal happiness, viz., "true repentance, forgiveness of all our sins, &c., and amendment of life." Which last petition is very proper for a conclusion; for we know that if we do not amend our lives, all these intercessions will signify nothing, because God will not hear impenitent sinners. We therefore earnestly beg repentance and amendment of life, that so all our preceding requests may not miscarry.

And now, having presented so many excellent supplications to the throne of grace, if we should conclude them here, and leave them abruptly, it would look as if we were not much concerned whether they were received or not; and therefore the Church has appointed us to pursue them still, with vigorous importunities and redoubled entreaties. And for this reason we now call upon our Saviour, whom we have all this while been praying to, and beseech him, by his divinity, as he is the Son of God, and consequently abundantly able to help us in all these things, that he would "hear us." And then afterwards invoke him by his humanity, beseeching him by his sufferings for us, when he became "the Lamb of God," and was sacrificed "to take away the sins of the world," that he would "grant us" an interest in that "peace," which he then made with God, and the peace of conscience following thereupon; and that he would "have mercy upon us," and take away our sins, so as to deliver us both from guilt and punishment. And lastly, we beg of

him, as he is the Lord Christ, our anointed Mediator, to “hear us,” and favour us with a gracious answer to all these intercessions.

Finally, that our conclusion may be suitable to our beginning, we close up all with an address to the whole Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for that mercy which we have been begging in so many particulars. This one word comprehends them all, and therefore these three sentences are the epitome of the whole Litany; and, considering how often, and how many ways we need mercy, we can never ask it too often.

Sect. 4.—*Of the Supplications.*

The following part of this Litany we call the supplications, which were first collected and put into this form, when the barbarous nations first began to over-run the empire, about six hundred years after Christ. But, considering the troubles of the Church militant, and the many enemies it always hath in this world, this part of the Litany is no less suitable than the former at all times whatsoever.

Sect. 2. We begin with the Lord's-prayer, of which we have spoke before, and need only observe here, that the ancients annexed it to every office, to show both their esteem of that, and their mean opinion of their own composures, which receive life and value from this divine forum.

Sect. 3. After this, we proceed to beg deliverance from our troubles; but because our consciences presently suggest that our iniquities deserve much greater, and that therefore we cannot expect to be delivered since we suffer so justly, we are put in mind, that “God doth not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities.” And therefore we turn these very words into supplication, and thereby clear his justice in punishing us, but apply to his mercy to proportion his chastisements according to our ability of bearing, and not according to the desert of our offences.

Sect. 4. The way being thus prepared, the priest now begins to pray for the people alone. But lest they should think their duty at an end, as soon as the responses are over, he enjoins them to accompany him in their hearts still by that ancient form, “Let us pray;” and then proceeds to the prayer against persecution, which is collected partly out of the Scripture and partly out of the primitive forms, and is still to be found entire among the offices of the Western Church, with this title, “For tribulation of heart.”

It is not concluded with Amen, to show that the same request is continued in another form; and what the priest begged before

alone, all the people join to ask in the following alternate supplications, taken from Psal. xlv. 26, and Psal. lxxix. 9. When our enemies are rising against us to destroy us, we desire that God will "arise and help us," not for any worthiness in ourselves, but "for his name's sake, that he may make his power to be known."

Sect. 5. Whilst the people are praying thus earnestly, the priest, to quicken their faith by another divine sentence (Ps. xlv. 1), commemorates the great troubles, adversities, and persecutions which God hath delivered his Church from in all ages; and since he is the same Lord, and we have the same occasion, this is laid down as the ground of our future hope.

For the wonderful relations which "we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us" of God's rescuing this particular Church at first from Popery, and of his delivering and preserving it ever since from faction and superstition, from so many secret seditions and open rebellions, fully assure us that his arm is not shortened.

And therefore the people again say, "O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine honour;" which is no vain repetition, but a testimony that they are convinced they did wisely to ask of this God (who hath done so great things for his people in all ages) now to "arise and help," that so the honour he hath gotten by the wonders of his mercy may be renewed and confirmed by this new act of his power and goodness.

Sect. 6. To this is added the doxology in imitation of David, who would often, in the very midst of his complaints, out of a firm persuasion that God would hear him, suddenly break out into an act of praise. And thus we, having the same God to pray to, in the midst of our mournful supplications, do not only look back on former blessings with joy and comfort, but forward also on the mercies we now pray for. And though we have not yet received them, yet we praise him for them beforehand; and doubt not but that, as he was "glorified in the beginning" for past mercies, so he ought to be now for the present, and shall be hereafter for future blessings.

Sect. 7. But though the faithful do firmly believe that they shall be delivered at the last, and do at present rejoice in hopes thereof, yet, because it is probable their afflictions may be continued for a while for a trial of their patience, and the exercise of their other graces, for that reason we continue to pray for support in the mean time, and beg of "Christ to defend us from our enemies," and to "look graciously upon our afflictions; pitifully to behold the sorrows of our hearts," and "mercifully to forgive our sins," which are the cause of them.

And this we know he will do if our prayers be accepted; and therefore we beg of him “favourably with mercy to hear them,” and do beseech him, as he assumed our nature, and became the “Son of David” (whereby he took on him our infirmities, and became acquainted with our griefs), to “have mercy upon us.”

And because the hearing of our prayers in a time of distress is so desirable a mercy, that we cannot ask it too fervently nor too often, we therefore redouble our cries, and beg of him, as he is Christ, our anointed Lord and Saviour, that he would “vouchsafe to hear us now, and whenever” we cry to him for relief in our troubles. And to shew we rely on no other helper, we conclude our supplications with David’s words in a like case — “O Lord, let thy mercy be showed upon us, as we do put our trust in thee.” To him, and to him only, we have applied ourselves, and, as we have no other hope but in him, so we may expect that this hope shall be fulfilled, and that we shall certainly be delivered in his due time.

Sect. 8. The whole congregation having thus addressed the Son, the priest now calls upon us to make our application to the Father (who knows as well what we suffer as what we can bear) in a most fervent form of address, composed at first by St. Gregory, above 1100 years ago, but afterwards corrupted by the Roman Church, by the addition of the intercession of saints, which our Reformers have left out, not only restoring, but improving the form.

Sect. 5.—*Of the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and 2 Cor. xiii. 14.*

The Litany, as I have already observed, was formerly a distinct service by itself, and was used generally after Morning-service was over; and then these two final prayers belonged particularly to this service. But it being now almost used everywhere with the Morning-prayer, these latter collects being omitted there (after some occasional prayers) come in here; and how fit they are for this place may be seen by what is said of them already.

HISTORY OF THE COMMON PRAYER.

BY WILLIAM NICHOLLS, D.D.

Of the Latin Service before the Reformation.

BEFORE the Reformation, the Liturgy was only in Latin, being a collection of prayers, made up partly of some ancient forms used in the primitive Church, and partly of some others of a later original, accommodated to the superstitions which had crept into the Romish Church in the middle ages, as we may now see them in the Roman breviary and missal. These Latin services were something different from one another, according to the different usages of Churches. The Latin services, which were used mostly here in England, for three hundred years before the Reformation, were the *breviarium*, *missale*, &c., *secundum usum Sarum*. They were composed by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, a man well versed in rituals, about the year of our Lord 1080; and were thought to be done with that exactness, according to the rules of the Church of Rome, that many Churches abroad likewise entertained them.

These Latin prayers being established by the laws of the land and the canons of the Church, no other could publicly be made use of; so that those of the laity, who had not the advantage of a learned education, could not, with edification, join in them. And besides, they being mixed with addresses to the saints, adoration of the host, images, &c., the worship was in itself idolatrous and profane.

Of the several parts of the Liturgy, compiled in the reign of Henry VIII.

The Reformation being begun in Germany, and having spread its happy effects in England, so as to dispose a considerable part of the nation towards the same here, Archbishop Cranmer, who was at the head of that great design, endeavoured what he could to have the Liturgical offices performed in the English tongue, being reformed from the Popish abuses. But matters were not ripe enough to bring that entirely about in that reign; however, he proceeded to lay the foundation thereof, and to do that gradually, which he could not effect at once.

After the Pope's jurisdiction in this nation was abolished, and all appeals to Rome forbidden, by 24 Henry VIII., A.D. 1532, and afterwards his pretended supremacy taken away, and the king declared supreme head of the Church, 1534, Archbishop Cranmer laid hold of this favourable opportunity for the engaging the royal authority to do several things in order to a Reformation in religion.

For in the year 1536, the king's injunctions were set forth, wherein several Popish abuses were rectified; and the Bible, with the pater noster, creed, and ten commandments, were set forth, and placed in Churches, to be read in English.

In the year 1545, the king's primer came forth, wherein are contained, not only the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments, but also the morning and evening prayer, in English, not much different from what it is in our present Common Prayer-books, with a preface to it, showing the necessity of uniformity of prayer, and of young persons being instructed therein.

In this primer, the Venite, Te Deum, the Lord's prayer, creed, &c., are the very same translation now used in our Common Prayer-book.

Some time after this, the Litany was published in English, something different from what it is now, and permitted to be read in Churches, on Wednesday and Fridays.

This was as much as could be brought to bear, in the Reformation of liturgical matters, during this king's reign.

Of the Compiling the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Edward VI.

Not long after, Edward VI. coming to the crown, thirteen persons were commissioned by the king to draw up the communion-service, which was done in pursuance of an act which was sometime before passed in Parliament, for receiving the communion in both kinds. The persons employed to draw up this office, were

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.

Henry Holbech, Bishop of Lincoln.

George Day, Bishop of Chichester.

John Skip, Bishop of Hereford.

Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster.

Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester.

Richard Cox, Dean of Christ Church, Almoner to the king.

Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's.

Dr. Taylor, Dean of Lincoln.

Dr. Hayns, Dean of Exeter.

Dr. Robinson, Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards Dean of Durham.

Dr. Redman, Dean of Westminster, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

When this office was finished, it came out with a proclamation reciting the statute for receiving the communion under both kinds, commanding that it be administered only, after such form as is declared by a direction to the proclamation annexed.

This being brought into use, the same persons were commissioned to finish the whole Book of Common-prayer, and to draw up public services, not only for Sundays and holidays, but for baptisms, burials, and other special occasions, which accordingly they did.

The whole Book of Common Prayer being now finished, it was confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the second of King Edward VI., A.D. 1548; and therein this honourable encomium is given of it, and the unanimous consent of the commissioners in drawing it up, viz., which at this time, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with uniform agreement is of them concluded, &c.

This Common Prayer-book is called, in the following notes, the first book of Edward VI., or the book of the second year of Edward VI.

Four years afterwards, the Book of Common Prayer underwent another review, wherein some ceremonies and usages were laid aside, and some new prayers added, at the instance of Mr. Calvin of Geneva, and Bucer, a foreign divine, who was invited to be a professor at Cambridge. This Common Prayer, as it was now altered in this review, is very nearly the same with what we now use.

This Common Prayer-book, in the following notes, is called the second book of Edward VI., or the book of the fifth year of Edward VI.

Of the Review of the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Popery having been introduced again into England, in the reign of Queen Mary, and the mass-book used instead of the English Liturgy, upon the coming of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, consultations were held by the Protestants about the court, concerning the bringing-in again the English service; and in order to this, several learned divines were appointed to make a review of the second book of King Edward VI. The names of which were, as we learn from Mr. Cambden's history of Queen Elizabeth—

Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

Dr. May.

Dr. Bill.

Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Mr. David Whitehead.

Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards Bishop of London, and after that, Archbishop of Canterbury.

To these, Mr. Strype says, were added, Dr. Edwin Sandys, afterward Bishop of Worcester; and Mr. Edmund Guest, a learned person, who was afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Queen's almoner, and Bishop of Rochester.

It was debated which of the two books of Edward VI. should be received, and Secretary Cecil sent several queries to Guest, concerning the reception of some particulars in the first book—as the image of the cross, prayer for the dead, delivering of the sacrament into the mouth of the communicant, &c.; but, however, the second book of King Edward was pitched upon as the book to be proposed to the Parliament to be established, the commissioners making only some few alterations therein, whereof these are the most considerable.

Whereas in the rubric, in the beginning of morning prayer, in King Edward VI.'s second book, the minister is enjoined to turn so as the people may best hear, in Queen Elizabeth's book it is enjoined, "That morning and evening prayer shall be used in the accustomed place in the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall otherwise be determined by the ordinary of the place."

Whereas King Edward's second book forbids the using of the alb, vestment, or cope, in Queen's Elizabeth's book it is ordered, "That the minister, at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward VI."

There was a rough expression in the Litany of King Edward's first and second book, which was left out in that of the queen—"From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities."

The words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee," and, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee," were restored out of King Edward's first book; only the latter part of those forms being in King Edward VI.'s second book.

The Act of Parliament for the establishing this book, passed

April 28, 1569, and took effect on St. John Baptist's day, immediately following.

Of the Review of the Common Prayer-book in King James I.'s time.

In the first year of King James I., upon the complaint of the Puritan ministers against the ceremonies of the Church and the service books, there was a conference held at Hampton Court, before the king, wherein the objections of the Puritans were heard and answered, mostly by the king himself. At the conclusion of this conference, the king gave a commission (as he speaks in his proclamation), under the great seal of England, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, according to the form which the laws of this realm in like case prescribed to be used, to make the said explanation, and to cause the whole Book of Common Prayer with the same explanations to be newly printed. These explanations, as the proclamation calls them, were the adding some new thanksgiving prayers at the end of the Litany—the lengthening out the catechism, with the questions and answers concerning the sacraments—several times “priest” changed into “minister”—in the office of private baptism, instead of “Let them that be present, call upon God for his graceand then one of them shall name the child,” it is added, “Let the lawful minister, and them,” &c. As also, “because some things essential to this sacrament may happen to be omitted through fear or haste, in such times of extremity, I demand further of you with what matter,” which was not in Queen Elizabeth's book, but only, “whether they called upon God for grace in that time of necessity.” These, with some other few matters, were the alterations (or explanations, as they were called) in that review. These were improvements, for the most part, it is true; but it is questioned whether they were done by competent authority, after the queen's book was established by Act of Parliament. The proclamation, indeed, supposes this to be done according to “the form which the laws of this realm, in the like case, have prescribed to be used. By which probably is meant the statute of the 26th of Henry VIII., c. 1, wherein the king is declared “justly and rightfully to be the supreme governor of the Church of England; to have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, &c., which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended.” As, likewise, that of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, wherein it is

enacted, "that the kings and queens of this realm shall have full power and authority, by letters patents under the great seal of England, to assign, name, and authorize, when and as often as their heirs and successors shall think meet and convenient, such person or persons as they shall think meet, to visit, reform, and redress," &c. But still it was a great query whether these general clauses empowered that prince to make such alterations in a book established by Act of Parliament, wherein the words of the Act were so very express: "All and singular ministers in any cathedral, or parish church, or other places within this realm of England, &c., shall, after the feast of St. John the Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by Parliament, in the fifth and sixth years of King Edward VI., with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise." This was the occasion of different speculations in those times. The Puritans, for whose sakes these alterations were made, did not think them founded upon sufficient authority; and Bishop Cosins, who was no friend to the Puritans, but had a great zeal for parliamentary right, was of the same opinion. But this being an old controversy, and that Common Prayer-book being for many years laid aside, enough is said concerning each of them.

Of the Review of the Common Prayer-book in King Charles I.'s time.

There was little done in the English Common Prayer-book in King Charles I.'s time; for it was published with the same alterations as it was put out with in King James's time, having his proclamation printed before it, only the names of the royal family being altered, and some of the words, *minister*, in the rubric, being brought back again to priest. As to the Scotch Common Prayer-book, it cannot but be owned that there were a number of very excellent improvements made therein, some of which were taken into the last review, and more might have been so, but only the nation was not disposed then to receive them, the distempers of the late times having prejudiced many against it. The most remarkable alterations in this book are—the word priest, in the rubrics, is changed into presbyter; the epistles

and gospels are set down according to the new translation. "Glory be to thee, O Lord," is ordered to be said before the Gospel, and "Thanks be to thee, O Lord," after it. Several new sentences are added in the offertory. The Oblation-prayer is placed immediately after the Consecration. The hymns and psalms are according to the new translation, &c. This book was printed at Edinburgh, by Robert Young, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, 1637. *Cum privilegio.*

Of the Review of the Common Prayer-book after the restoration of King Charles II.

The whole nation growing weary of the intolerable oppression which they lay under, ever since the usurping powers had gotten into the administration of affairs upon the great Rebellion, several of the Presbyterian ministers, especially those about London, lent a ready hand to the removal of the common burden by their late preaching, so stirring up the people of the city to a desire of the king's restoration, as did not a little facilitate that happy event. This good office, together with their sending some of their divines to wait upon him beyond sea, before his coming home, occasioned him very gratefully to resent it, and to order a new review of the Liturgy, thereby to take away all reasonable ground of scruple, which might hinder their subscribing to it. That the king had this in view when he published his declaration, October 25, 1660, is plain by the words thereof: "When we were in Holland we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal assertors of the Presbyterian opinions, with whom we had much conference as the multitude of affairs which were then upon us would permit us to have, and, to our great satisfaction and comfort, found them persons full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of Church and State, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) of Episcopacy or Liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either as, without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers," &c. In pursuance of this declaration, a commission was issued out, dated the 25th of March, 1661, empowering twelve of the bishops and twelve of the Presbyterian divines to treat of matters proper to be altered in the Liturgy, to consider of the objections raised against the same, and to make such reasonable and necessary alterations as they should agree upon, eleven assistants on each side being added to supply the place of any of the twelve principals who should be absent.

These Commissioners had several meetings at the Savoy, as

was appointed, but little was done at them. The Presbyterian ministers brought in their exceptions against the Common Prayer, and Mr. Baxter brought in a new Common Prayer-book of his own making, which he called "The Reformation of the Liturgy." Indeed, had matters been managed with tolerable temper, there might have been some good effect of this commission, and an expedient have been found out to have given the Presbyterian ministers some little satisfaction, so that they might have complied with reputation among their party, whereby the separation which has since ensued might have been hindered. But the bishops being provoked by their long sufferings, and not brooking to have laws prescribed to them by those who had been the occasion thereof, were not very forward to make any alterations which were proposed by the Presbyterians, even in some things as might have deserved consideration, refusing them so much as the change of "deadly sin," in the Litany, into "heinous sin."

The Presbyterians, on the other hand, heaped together all the old exceptions which the Puritans for a hundred years had raised against the Liturgy, with the addition of some new ones, which looked as if they had a mind to have the bishops tell the world, that all those loud clamours against the Church were justifiable by their altering, at their desire, those particulars which they could not defend. But Mr. Baxter's new-fangled Liturgy, drawn up in a method which was warranted by no ancient forms, either Greek or Latin, was a presumption which was looked on by all on the Church side with the greatest disdain. And, indeed, it is an occasion of no little wonder to think that so many learned men of the Presbyterian side could ever be persuaded to give their consent to let such an odd performance of that kind to be laid before Bishop Cosins, Morley, Nicholson, Pearson, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Heylin, Thorndike, &c. Men so admirably versed in antiquity and liturgical learning, and this especially when they were directed by the commission to compare the Common Prayer-book "with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church in the most primitive and purest times, and to avoid, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms and Liturgy wherewith the people are altogether acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England." Upon the whole, there was nothing done by this conjunct body, only some few general disputes were had about the points of scandal and concessions for the sake of weak brethren, upon which nothing was concluded, and soon after the commission expired. However, some particular alterations were agreed upon by the episcopal divines, which were considered, and afterwards made, in the following Convocation.

This Convocation met the 8th of May, 1661. They began with the office for the king's birth and return, which was brought in the 16th of May, being their second session. On the 18th of May, their third session, they proceeded to the office of baptism of those of riper years. By the 20th of December following the book was completed, and subscribed to by the members of both houses.

The principal alterations which were made in this review were these; several lessons in the calendar were changed for others more proper for the days. The prayers upon particular occasions were disjoined from the Litany. The prayer for the Parliament, that for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving, were added. Several of the collects were altered. The epistles and gospels were taken out of the last translation of the Bible, they being read before according to the old. The offices for the baptism of those of riper years, the forms of prayer to be used at sea, were added. Afterwards the form on the martyrdom of King Charles, and that for the king's birth and return, or, as it is now called, the restoration of the royal family. The whole book being finished, and passed both houses of the Convocation, was unanimously by them all subscribed to, on Friday, the 20th of December, 1661.

The form of Subscription for the Bishops of the province of Canterbury was this.

“Librum precum publicarum, administrationis sacramentorum, aliorumq; rituum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, unâ cum forma et modo ordinandi et consecrandi episcopos, presbyteros et diaconos, juxta literas regiæ majestatis nobis in hac parte directas revisum, et quingentas quadraginta et quatuor paginas continentem: nos Gulielmus Providentiâ Divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, et nos episcopi ejusdem provinciæ, et in sacra provinciali synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu et consensu, in hanc formam redeimus, recepimus, et approbavimus, eidemq; subscripsimus; vicesimo hic mensis Decembris, A.D. millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo.”

To this form of subscription were subjoined—

The Subscription of the Lower House of Convocation, in this form.

“Nos etiam universus clerus inferioris domûs ejusdem provinciæ synodicè congregat, dicto libro publicarum precum, sacramentorum et rituum, unâ cum forma et modo ordinandi et

consecrandi episcopos, presbyteros et diaconos, unanimiter consensimus et subscripsimus, die et anno prædictis.”

The Bishops of the province of York subscribed according to this form.

“Librorum precum publicarum. Administrationis sacramentorum, aliorumq; rituum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, unâ cum forma et modo ordinandi et consecrandi episcopos, presbyteros et diaconos, juxta literas regiæ majestatis nobis in hac parte directas, revisum, et quingentas quadraginta et quatuor paginas continentem, nos acceptas Providentia Divina eborum archiepiscopus provinciæ in sacra provinciali synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu et consensu in hanc formam redegimus, recepimus, et approbavimus, eademq; subscripsimus, vicesimo mensis Decembris, A. D. millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo.”

The Subscription of the Clergy of the province of York was in this form.

“Nos etiam universus clerus inferioris domus ejusdem provinciæ ebor. synodice congregati, per nostros respectivè procuratores, sufficienter et legitimè constitut. et substitut. dicto libro publicarum precum, administrationis sacramentorum et rituum, una cum forma et modo ordinandi et consecrandi episcopos, presbyteros et diaconos, unanimiter consensimus et subscripsimus, die et anno prædictis.”

The book not going to the press till some time after (the Act of Uniformity for enacting it into a law taking up a considerable time), on the 8th of March following Dr. Sandercock, Mr. Scattergood, and Mr. Dillingham were appointed by the bishops supervisors of the press when the book should be printed, as appears by an order of the Upper House of Convocation, bearing date that day.

The book being brought to the Lords' House, my Lord Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England, was ordered by that house to return the thanks of the house to the bishops and clergy of the Convocations of both provinces for their great care and industry in the review of it, which was signified to them by Robert, Lord Bishop of Oxon, who then presided in the Convocation, March 18, 1661.

NOTES ON THE RUBRIC,

DIRECTING THE PLACE FOR THE CELEBRATION OF COMMON PRAYER, AND THE DRESS OF THE OFFICIATING MINISTER.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM NICHOLLS, D.D.

*The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place. And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past. And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.**

Accustomed place of the Church. The word church or kirk, comes from the Greek *Κυριακὸν*, or the Lord's house ; by which name the Christians of the Greek Church used to call the place of their assembly for divine worship. There is little doubt to be made but that the Christians set up their churches to answer to the Jews' synagogue, that they might not have less frequent opportunities of worshipping God in public, and hearing his

* The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn him as people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place. And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past (1 B. Ed. VI).

And here it is to be noted, that the presbyter or minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times of his administration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope ; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet ; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only (2 B. Ed. VI).

And here it is to be noted, that the presbyter or minister, at the time of the communion, and at other times of his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as are prescribed, or shall be by his Majesty and his successors, according to the Act of Parliament provided in that behalf.

holy word read and expounded, than the Jews had. The time when the use of synagogues among the Jews began, is not very easy to determine. Some are of opinion they began soon after the captivity (Sig. de Reb. Heb., lib. ii.); but it is plain, I think, they were in use before: for the seventy-fourth Psalm was undoubtedly made upon the sacking the city, and carrying away the captives; and there it is said, that the Babylonians burnt down all the synagogues—the mongliethi, or consecrated tabernacles: “They have burnt down all the synagogues of God in the land.” After their restoration from captivity, when they began to increase in power and riches, there were many synagogues built, not only in Jerusalem, but in many other parts of Judea. If the Talmudists are to be credited, as they are cited by Mr. Selden (De Succ. ad Leg. Hebræorum, ad bona defuncti), there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in the city of Jerusalem only. That there were synagogues in other places out of the city, is evident from Matt. iv. 22, where he speaks of our Saviour’s preaching in the synagogues of Galilee. So St. Luke relates our Saviour’s coming to Nazareth, and going into the synagogue there and expounding the Scriptures. These synagogues were built either by public cost or at the charge of some private persons of considerable wealth and piety. And so a synagogue was erected at Capernaum by a Roman captain or centurion, whose company had long quartered in that town: and the Jewish elders make use of that as a considerable argument to incline our Saviour to work a cure upon his sick servant, for the sake of the munificence of his master: “For he loveth our nation (which was a remarkable thing for the Roman officers to do), and hath built us a synagogue.” The form of the synagogue within side was this: round the walls, upon an ascent, were placed or fixed several great chairs, for the doctors, elders, and persons of distinction to sit—not unlike the stalls in the choirs of our cathedral churches: under them were placed upon benches, young people, and those of more inferior quality; and below them the youngest of all, together with persons of the lowest conditions, upon mats laid on the pavement. Some young lads, who were breeding up to be doctors in the law, were disposed in the upper bench, at the feet of their master, as St. Paul was at Gamaliel’s. These are the *πρωτακη-θεσιμια*, which our Saviour speaks of, that the Scribes and Pharisees were so desirous of (Vid. Euseb., lib. ii., c. 9; Montac. Or. Eccl., p. 1).

When the first Christians were increased in any place to a number that was fitting to make a congregation, they religiously met together in some determined place for religious worship on the Lord’s-day, as the Jews did on Saturday. This was at first

only a room in a private house; such was that *ὑπερώον*, or upper chamber, mentioned Acts xx. 7. Such was the meeting-place in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and that in Philemon's. Afterwards, during the rage of the persecutions, they durst not meet together in the cities for fear of being observed by the informers, and therefore were forced to convene in some lonely wood or cave, a good way out of town. Or sometimes they would make a congregation out of the Christian prisoners, who were, for their religion, sent to one common gaol. Hence that noble expression of Dionysius of Alexandria: Πᾶς ὁ κ ταθ' ἕκασον θλίψεως τόπος, πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν γέγονε Κυρίον ἀγρὸς, ἐρημία, ναῦς, πανδοχεῖον, δεσμοτήριον. "Every place whither our misfortunes lead us becomes our temple, and we hold our assemblies there: a field or a desolate wood, a ship, an inn, or a prison." Oftentimes assemblies were held in the cemeteries or burying-places (Tert. ad Scap., c. 3.; Const. Ap., lib. vi., c. 30). And to keep them from the injuries of the weather, they had some slight sheds of boards set up, which were called *fabricæ* or scaffolds (Arnob. cont. Gen.). But this was only in the breathing places, between the heats of the several great persecutions.

Towards the middle of the third century, under the reigns of Alexander Severus, Gordianus, Philippus, and Gallienus, the Christians enjoyed some tolerable ease, and the exercise of their religion was connived at by the mildness of these governments; and then they began to build some little churches, and make up private houses into conveniences, for performing public service therein, which were all destroyed and levelled to the ground in the persecution raised against the Christians by Dioclesian (Lact. de Just., lib. v. c. 2). But by an edict put out by Maximianus and Constantius Clorus, the Christians were indulged liberty,* "to build up again the places where they met to pray in." But, under the empire of Constantine, churches began to be built, according to the usual state of other public structures. The first and most considerable was, that upon Mount Calvary, at Jerusalem, the place where our Saviour suffered, built at the charge of the emperor (Euseb. de vit. Const., lib. iii. c. 29). Two more great churches were built in Palestine, at the charge of Helena, mother of Constantine; one in honour of Christ's birth at Bethlehem, and another in memory of his resurrection (Id., lib. iii. c. 41). Besides these, in Rome and other cities, that emperor built churches of a stately height, far exceeding the old ones which were pulled

* Conventicula, in quibus orare consueverunt, rursus extruere et rædificare.

down (Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. x). The following emperors continued in the same munificence, there being a public fund issuing out of the fisc, for the building and repairing of churches (Soc., lib. i. c. 14). How frequently they were built in Theodosius's reign may be seen by several of St. Ambrose's epistles upon these occasions. But Justinian far exceeded any of his predecessors in this liberality, even to such a degree, that he is said to have taken away the salaries which were settled upon professors and schoolmasters, to defray this charge (Zon., tom. iii). So that, about the seventh or eighth century, churches were erected, not only in great towns, but in villages likewise. As for the outward figure of the ancient churches, especially the Grecian, they were very various, and far more elegant than those which were built in the Gothic times, and those following ages whose architecture was founded upon that model. Leo Allatius, whose observations are very curious this way, informs us, that some were of a round figure, with a cupola on the top, called by the Greeks *κυκλοειῆς*, and *θολωτά*, from the rafters all meeting in a centre; some were long, being covered with an arch, called from the figure of the roof, *κυλινδρωτά*; others built in a cross, and from that named *σαρκοειῆς*.

The churches were disposed within doors, thus: There were two principal parts of the church—first, the body thereof, which was called the *navis*, or the ship, where the laity were during the performance of their acts of devotion. In the middle part of the body was the place for the men; the women were in galleries on each side, next to the wall, having a particular stairs to go up to them, by themselves, with bannisters before them, to keep them from being gazed at during the sacred solemnity. (Clem. Const. Aug., lib. iii. de Civ. Dei. Greg. Naz. de Somno Anest). The next part was the chancel, of which more in the next note.

Chancel. The chancel or the choir, was called *Βῆμα*, or the ascent, from the several steps which were to go up to it. And being separated from the rest of the church by bannisters, which the Greeks called *καμαίλδες*, and the Latins *cancelli*, it obtained the name of chancel in modern times. No one was to come within the rails of this, but only persons in sacred orders; the laity being obliged to keep within the body of the church, except only the emperor, who, by a particular indulgence, out of regard to his high character, was allowed to come within the rails (Con. Trull., can. lxiv.); which custom was long tenaciously observed by the Greek Church. But the Latin Church, in complaisance to the women, allowed them, whenever they pleased, without breach of modesty, to go up to the altar, though

the forty-fourth canon of the Council of Laodicea had forbidden it, as Balsamon upon this canon has noted. Round the chancel were several seats or stalls, the principal of which was the *ca-thedra θρόνος*, or bishop's throne; next this the seats of the presbyters, with benches for the deacons, and mats for the other church officers (Soc. lib. v., cap. 15; Conc. Laod., can. lvi.). Joining to the chancel was a closet or vestry, where the bishops and clergy used to enrobe themselves, and make themselves ready to officiate. This was called by the Greeks Ἀσπασικόν, by the Latins *domus salutatoriæ* (Theod., lib. iv., cap. 20; Hier. de Obitu Nepot.).

Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past. Several very unhappy disputes have arisen in our Church concerning the disposal or situation of the Lord's table in the chancels. The first, being in the beginning of the Reformation, was whether those of the altar fashion, which had been used in the Popish times, and on which the masses were celebrated, should be kept up. This point was first started by Bishop Hooper, who in a sermon before King Edward VI., in the third year of his reign, said, "That it would do well if it might please the magistrate to have altars turned into tables, to take away the false persuasion of the people which they have of sacrifices to be done upon altars. Because, as long (says he) as altars remain, both the ignorant people and priests will always dream of sacrifice." After this came out the first letters on this occasion, directed from the king to the bishops, dated Nov. 19, 1549, copies of which I never saw; but that they were sent is plain, by the diary of King Edward, which says this: "Nov. 19, 1549, there were letters sent to every bishop to pull down the altars." A year after, another letter from the king and council, dated Nov. 4, 1550, was sent to Ridley, then Bishop of London, to be executed in his diocese, a copy whereof is extant in Fox. And in this, altars are ordered to be taken down, and instead of them a table to be set up in some convenient place of the chancel. But that a former progress had been made of this affair is plain from the preface to this letter, which says, "Whereas it is come to our knowledge, that seeing the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm, upon good and godly considerations are taken down, there doth yet remain altars standing in divers other churches," &c. Which passage I take to refer to the effect of the letters mentioned in the king's diary, written the year before: for I cannot think (as some do) that this relates to the tumultuous pulling down the altars by the rabble before the royal orders came out. For certainly the council would never have vouched this to have been done upon good

and godly considerations. Bishop Ridley enforced this order of council sent to him by several reasons, whereby he shows that a table is more agreeable to the nature of the sacrament than an altar. After this came on the review of the Liturgy, 1551; which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Now, whereas in the first Liturgy it is ordered, that the priest officiating "should stand before the midst of the altar, in the celebration." In the rubric of the second it is ordered, that the "priest shall stand on the north side of the table." And thus the first dispute between altars and tables was at an end. But there presently followed upon it another controversy—whether the table, placed in the room of the altar, ought to stand altar-wise, *i.e.*, in the same place and situation as the altar formerly stood. In some churches the tables were placed in the middle of the chancels; in others, at the east part thereof, next to the wall. Bishop Ridley endeavoured to make a compromise of that affair, in his church of St. Paul's, suffering the table to stand in the place of the old altar; but, beating down the partition behind, laid all the choir open to the east, leaving the table then to stand in the middle of the chancel. Under this diversity of usage, superiors not pressing for an uniformity of practice, matters continued quiet as to this controversy during this king's reign.

When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and a new review of the Liturgy was made, this present clause was added, to hinder any new differences upon this head: "And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past." Whereby an indulgence is given to those cathedral or collegiate Churches, where the tables stood altar-wise, and fastened to the east part of the chancel, to retain their ancient practice; but lays down the general rule otherwise, especially as to parish churches, as is plain by the rubric before the communion in her Common Prayer-book: "That the table, having at the communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning or evening prayer shall be appointed to be said." And the injunctions given out in her first year enforce the same: adding, that after the communion done, "from time to time, the same holy table shall be placed where it stood before." The canons of 1603 order, that "at the time of the communion the table shall be placed in so good sort, within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be the more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and administration; and the communicants also, more conveniently, and more in number, may communicate with the said minister" (can. lxxxii). So that, by these authorities, first,

where tables were fixed they ought not to be stirred, but to remain as they were; secondly, that at the time of the communion, they might either stand at the east wall of the church, or in other place that is more convenient. But this latitude being granted, several inconveniences did arise.

Great irreverence was used towards the holy table; not only people's hats and gloves were thrown upon it, but the churchwardens and overseers were frequently writing their accounts thereon, the processioning boys eating their loaves and cakes, and dogs leaping up at the bread, to the great scandal of our Reformation, not only among the Papists, but also among the Protestant Churches abroad. Archbishop Laud, out of zeal to reform these horrid abuses, and to bring the Church to an uniformity of practice, endeavoured to have the communion table set altar-wise at the east end of the chancel, and to be railed in; engaging many of the bishops to press this in their visitation articles. They grounded their reason for this (besides the hindering the foresaid irreverences) upon the practice of the royal chapel, and most of the cathedral churches where the tables stood altar-wise, as also on one of the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, which ordereth "That the holy table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth, and so stand saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel," &c. And, moreover, on the authority of the bishop, to whom in the preface of the Common Prayer-book is allowed a power, upon any "doubt arising in the use and practising of the same book, to take such order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in that book." Great strifes and contentions were for many years kept up in the ventilating this controversy, till the civil war came on, and all things civil and sacred were overwhelmed with confusion. Since the Restoration no positive determination therein being made, in the review of the Common Prayer, the dispute has very happily died, and the tables have generally been set altar-wise and railed in, without any opposition thereto; the generality of all parishioners esteeming it a very decent situation, they coming of themselves to a good liking of it, which they could not be brought to by the too rigid methods which were heretofore used.

Ornaments of the Church, and the ministers thereof. It being here said, "That the ornaments of the church, and the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this church, by the authority of Par-

liament in the second year of King Edward VI.;" but no ornaments particularly mentioned, it is necessary to enquire what they are. If we have recourse to that act, we shall find it there enacted, "That all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, &c., shall after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bounden to say the mattens, evening song, &c., and the administration of the sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book (viz., first book of Edward VI.), and not other or otherwise." So that by this act we are sent to enquire into the rubrics of King Edward's first Common Prayer-book, for the habits in which ministers are to officiate. And among them we find these rules: "That in the saying or singing of mattens and evening song, baptizing and burying, the minister, in parish churches or chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries and fellows being graduates, may use in the choir, besides their surplices, such hoods as pertain to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no.

"And whensoever the bishop shall celebrate the holy communion, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, besides his rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplains." But in the rubric of Edward's second Common Prayer-book, confirmed likewise by Act of Parliament, the cope and pastoral staff are omitted, and therefore were not used by the bishops, either since the Restoration, or all along Queen Elizabeth's time, that I can find; though in Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity there is likewise reference made to the act of 2 King Edward VI.: "Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the church, and the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of Edward VI." To which this clause is further added: "Until further order shall be therein taken, by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners, appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitans of this realm." Which last clause, whether it be a qualification personally empowering this queen, and dying with her, or declarative only of the regal power, antecedently inherent in her, and derivable upon her successors, has afforded matter of much dispute.

But because most or all of these ecclesiastical habits have been excepted against, either as profane or superstitious, or as

being a faulty compliance with the Papists who do in common with us use them, or as being not sufficiently agreeable to the simplicity used by the clergy of the primitive Church, it will not be amiss to speak something concerning both the lawfulness and the ancient use of them.

To begin with the surplice. Of all the ecclesiastical habits, this has been the most opposed, because enjoined to be worn by every minister when he officiates. But when we seriously consider matters, it will appear that there is very little to be said against it, and that it is a very decent and proper habit for the purpose. For most certainly it is by no means convenient that a minister should officiate in the common habit which he wears at other times; and this our adversaries are so sensible of, that most of them wear a handsome long cloak when they preach or pray in their respective congregations; and why there should be such a material difference between a garment of a white colour and one of black, between one made of linen and another of wool, so as to occasion one to be lawful to be worn, and the other to be unlawful, is very unaccountable.

I am sure the surplice has a great deal more of ancient ecclesiastical practice on its side. There is little doubt to be made but that it was used in St. Cyprian's time. For Pontius Diaconus, in the Martyrdom of that father, written by him, says, that "when he suffered, there was a bench by chance covered with a white linen cloth; so that at his passion he seemed to have some of the ensigns of the episcopal honour." * This is a clear instance that the alb, or surplice, was used by bishops in those times. By the fourth Council of Carthage, the alb is enjoined to be used even by deacons, at the time of their administration of the public service (Con. iv. Carth. can. 41). St. Jerome defends the use of this, and says it was used by bishops, priests, and deacons, and all the other ecclesiastical orders, in his time. "What offence is it against God, I pray, if the bishop, priest, and deacon, and the rest of the ecclesiastical order, wear a white garment?" † (Hier. contr. Pelag. lib. 1). And the white shining garments spoken of by Nazianzen, must allude to the surplices then worn in the Church (Greg. Naz. Somn. de Anest. Templo). And, indeed, the Church, when she was to appoint what garments were proper to be used in the public service, had reason to pitch upon those of white

* "Sedile erat fortuitò linteo tectum, ut sub ictu passionis episcopatus honore frueretur."

† "Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiae contra Deum, si episcopus, presbyter et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificiorum, candidâ veste processerint?"

linen rather than any other; because angels, and other blessed persons, are recorded in Scripture to have appeared in that habit.

Another ecclesiastical ornament, which is ordered to be worn in the celebration of divine service, is the hood. But if there be any fault in wearing this habit, the University is to be blamed for it, rather than the Church; for the hoods, which are generally worn by the clergy, are the habits of their degrees, which they have taken in one of the Universities. The hood is called by the Latins *caputium*, or *cucullus*. The latter seems to be the most proper name for it, and was of great antiquity; for the *cucullus* was an habit among the ancient Romans, it being a coarse covering for the head (something like our fishermen's caps), made of thrum or coarse yarn, broad at the lower part, for the head to go in, and then lessening gradually till it ended in a point. It was from being rolled up in the shape of this hood, that the papers the grocers used to wrap their wares in, were called *cuculli*. Upon this account it was, that Martial feared lest a sheet of his book should serve to be rolled up in this cap-fashion, to put pepper or frankincense in.

“Ne thuris piperisve sis cucullus.”—*Mart.* lib. iii. ep. 2.

The Gauls, especially the Druids, wore the *cucullus* (or hood) very long, so that the top part thereof hung down behind; hence, when it came to be used at Rome, it obtained the name of *bardo-cucullus*, or the bard's hood. Nay, some wore it so big and large, that they could make it lap over their faces. And this was the custom of Manteius, who seems to have had a sore eye, and to have pulled the flap of his *cucullus* over it, to screen it from the light, or the dust, as he sat in the theatre, and to have looked at the shows with his other eye.

“Illic cucullo prospicit caput tectus,
Oculoq; ludos spectat indecens uno.”

Mart. lib. v. ep. 14.

In time, the cowl or hood was enlarged, so as to cover the head and neck, and to muffle up the person that wore it in such manner as not to be known when he went along.

“Tempora santónico velans adoperta cucullo.”—*Juv.*, Sat. 7.

The hood continued in use in the time of the later emperors of Rome, it being mentioned in the writings of Capitolinus and Spartian. When the monks and ascetics began in the Church they took up the use of it, as being a melancholy habit, when drawn over part of their faces, keeping them both from being stared at, and from looking about. And as the several orders of the Monks grew up, there was hardly any one of them but

had the hood or cowl, a little differenced in the cut or fashion of it. But generally it was contrived so that in cold or wet weather it might be a covering to the head; or, at other times, when they pleased, they might let it fall back behind them. The hood was also used by the canons of cathedral and collegiate churches, though they were forbidden by the canons to use the same hood with the monks (Conc. Aquisgr.). The Universities took the hood from the cathedrals, for in the latter ages the monks had made their hood and gown to be the same thing; so that among them the cucullus signified their whole habit, and not the hood only, and so it was used for the last four or five hundred years. Thus the hood, properly so called, was used only by University graduates and secular dignified priests, and by them rather for ornament than for use.

The rochet was an ancient garment used by the bishop. In the barbarous Latinity it was called *rochetum*, being derived from the German word *ruck*, which signifies the back, as being a covering for that. The writers of the Roman Church will have this to have been the episcopal habit in the time of St. Cyprian (Bar. Annal. An. 261, sects. 41, 42). But though *birrus dalmatica* and *linea* (by which last the cardinal will have understood the rochet) be mentioned in the acts of St. Cyprian's martyrdom, yet it is plain that this is the interpolation of a silly modern writer; for who can think that St. Cyprian would go to his execution in his pontifical habit, to expose it to the scorn of the heathen multitude, and to be the booty of the executioner? But it was in common use in the seventh century, because Bede not only mentions it, but gives a rationale of the particular make of it. And comparing it with Aaron's ephod, says, "That the closeness of it at the hand denotes, *nequid non utile faciant*, that he who wears it ought to do always something that is profitable" (Bed. de Tabernac. citat. ab Almario. Bibl. Patr. lib. x. p. 389). In the following ages the bishops were obliged by the canon law to wear their rochet whenever they appeared in public.* This practice seems to have been kept up in England more than in other places; Erasmus mentioning it as something particular in Bishop Fisher, that he would leave off his rochet when he travelled. "He had determined to throw off his episcopal habit, that is, the linen garment which they always use in England, except when they hunt, and to pass over the seas," † &c. But since the Reformation the bishops have

* "Pontifices autem in publico et in ecclesia, superindumentis lineis omnes utantur."—*Decretal*, lib. iii. Tit. i. cap. 15.

† "Decreverat posito cultu episcopali, hoc est lineâ veste, quâ semper utuntur in Anglia, nisi cum venantur, trajicere," &c.

not worn their rochets when they appear in any public place out of the Church, besides Parliament-house. The chimere, or garment over the rochet, in the Popish times, and in Edward VI.'s reign, was of scarlet; which made Bishop Hooker scruple at it, as too light a robe for the episcopal gravity. But this, in Queen Elizabeth's time, was changed into a chimere of black satin (*vide* "Hody's Hist. of Convoc." p. 143).

The cope answers to the *colobium* used by the Latins, and the σακκος used by the Greek Church. It was first a common habit, being a coat without sleeves, but afterwards used as a Church vestment. The Greeks say it was taken up in imitation of that mock-robe which was put upon our Saviour, which was a red bag, or sack.

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